

92
35152

COPYRIGHT, 1897,
BY DE WOLFE, FISKE & CO.

TYPOGRAPHY BY C. J. PETERS & SON, BOSTON
PRESSWORK BY S. J. PARKHILL & CO.

45

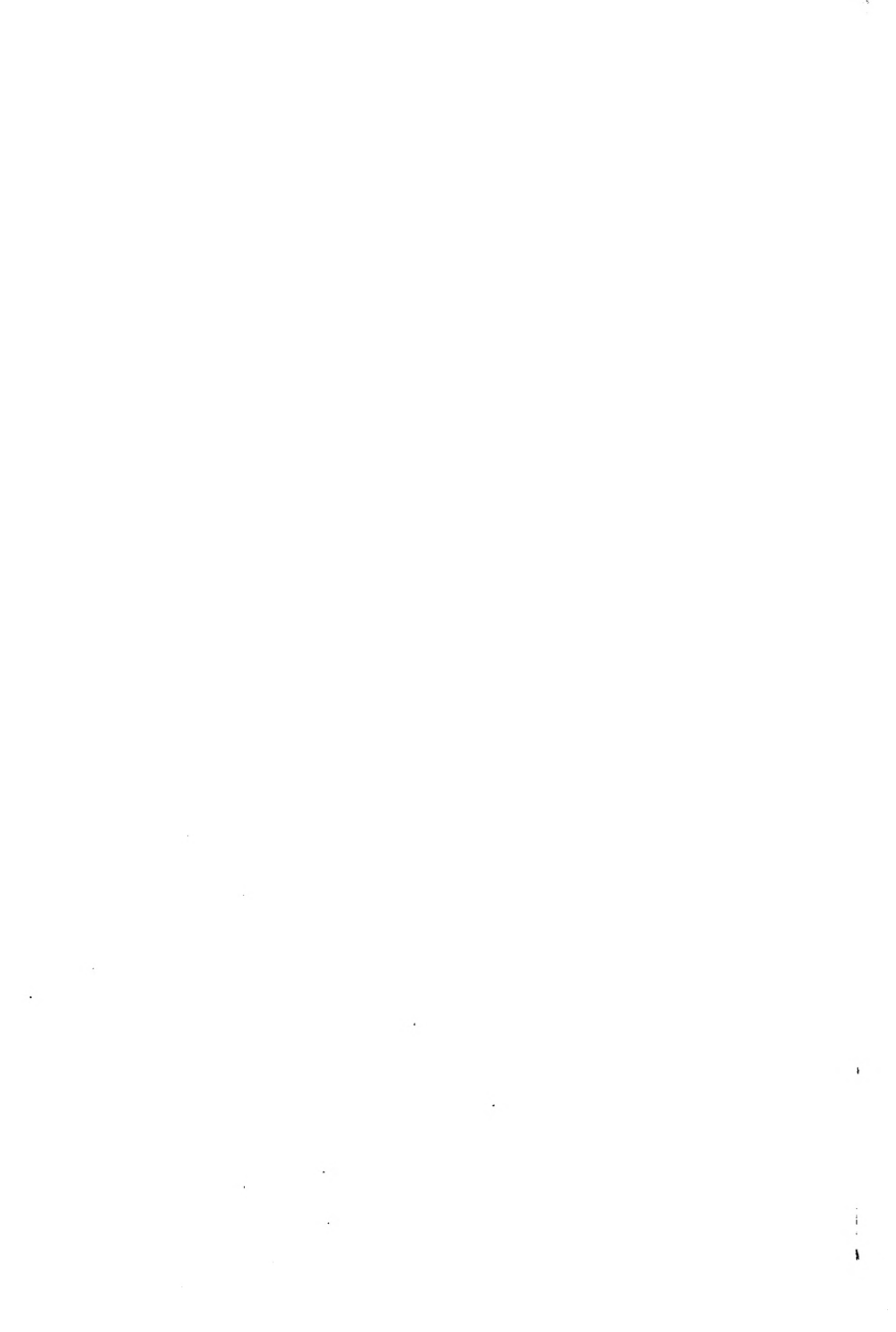
TO
THE MEMORY OF THE LATE

George E. Ellis,

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, AND GREATLY LEARNED IN THE LORE
OF THE FOREFATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND,
OF WHOSE STOCK HE WAS,

This Book,

ALAS! SO LATE, IS NOW DEDICATED BY HIS FRIEND,
THE AUTHOR.



PREFACE.

SAMUEL SEWALL, sometime business man, councillor, judge, and always Puritan, began his Diary with an entry, Dec. 3, 1673, as to what he lectured on, that day to the students of Harvard College, he himself having been there graduated in 1671. The last entry is Oct. 13, 1729. By a coincidence, significant enough to any student of this Diary, it ends with negotiations for a Puritan marriage match: "Judge Davenport comes to me, between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, and speaks to me on behalf of Mr. Addington Davenport, his eldest son, that he might have liberty to wait upon Jane Hirst, now at my house, in the way of courtship. He told me he would deal by him as his eldest son, and more than so. Intended to build a house where his uncle Addington dwelt, for him; and that he should have his pue in the old meeting house. I gave him my hand at his going away and acknowledged his respect to me and granted his desire. He said Madam Addington would wait upon me. . . . I informed his Honor, the Lieut. Governor of what Mr. Davenport had been about. His Honor approved of it much. Commended the young man, and reckoned it a very good match."

Sewall's Diary, therefore, covers, in time, more than fifty-five years of the old New England life, and when that life was putting itself into form. The book is too late to show the details of the first planting of Massachusetts Colony under Winthrop, except by occasional back glances, more than one generation having lapsed between 1630 and 1673. Yet there were in his day many of "the renowned settlers," as he styles them, who first came; and he was near enough in time to know things from the start, the great head man, and "Fidus Achates" of New England Puritanism, John Winthrop, having died as late as March 26, 1649, or less than twenty-four years before Sewall's Diary begins.

The Diary itself, towards its opening, is broken, probably by the loss of one or more of its manuscript volumes. There is a gap from July, 1677, to March, 1684-1685. This gap has been partially filled by the able editors of the Diary, from the Diary of Sewall's father-in-law, John Hull, the Colonial treasurer of "Pine Tree Shilling" memory; so that Sewall's book, as it now stands before the public, thanks to the love and care of its editors, is substantially continuous and complete. Sewall wrote his Diary in long, thin blank books with flexible leather covers, such as business men then used, in a plain, downright hand, of which the signature attached to his portrait in this book is a fair specimen. These books, preserved with care by his descendants, have of late years been annotated and printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in three large volumes, amounting, with

the indices, to rather more than fifteen hundred pages.¹ It is perhaps needless to say that "Samuel Sewall and the World He Lived in" bases itself upon this larger publication, though the colors for its pictures have been taken, when vivid and honest, wherever found.

Diaries are about the commonest of unpublished literature, and almost every business man makes one every year. Yet, with the millions of such, only two diarists in the English tongue have as yet attained so much fame, — Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn. Of these two, Pepys is the better known to readers. John Evelyn was a gentleman, as Pepys was not, and a Christian, as Pepys only was by spasms; both lived in London, Evelyn in five reigns; and both wrote down with vivid pens such things of the great world as they saw fit; and both will last as among the makers of English literature. With these two Englishmen, in due time, by a well-weighed and just verdict, Samuel Sewall will be associated in the same lasting fame. Not that he resembles either, though more like Evelyn ethically, and like Pepys physically. The two Englishmen were Church-of-England men, and Evelyn a sincere and consistent devotee. Sewall was the very type of the Puritan, and few lives were ever more thoroughly colored by their religion than his. All had been versed in affairs, and knew their times, Pepys showing, perhaps, the most

¹ He had the habit, also, of carrying about with him a pocket almanac, in which to jot down on the spot anything which struck his fancy; and very often these entries are enlarged, and used to fortify the Diary. Several of these useful almanacs are still in existence.

dynamic ability in administration, though quite in one direction ; Sewall wrought more in a longer and more varied public career than the others ; while Evelyn, as the virtuous associate of the great and the pure in heart, was in this world's affairs an atmosphere rather than an actor who controlled. Both the Englishmen show more literary merit, better form, and Evelyn especially has vastly greater continuity and deliberation in his entries, than Sewall.

With this showing, on what ground, then, can the claim be made for Sewall's Diary, as a permanency in English literature, sure to come finally, upon its merits, to a lasting fame? First of all, because his Diary is the only one of New England, and, as to that matter, of the American nation so far, which our people, so rich in other things, can claim for its own ; and for its own, as one of its most ancient and elaborate historical monuments in its ever crescent literature. We have no other book like it ; perhaps no other storehouse of old ways and social life so abundant as it. Sewall never took the time or the pains, being too busy, to get himself a well-mannered style and fixed forms as a literary man. Perhaps the exacting, and even narrow, zeal of Puritanism, always unfavorable to art, dissuaded him. Yet there are not lacking passages in his Diary and Letter Book which show his ability to have written the strongest, well-ordered English had he willed it. Proofs of this ability will be found in this book later on. Sewall's Diary, then, will last because it is a rich mine of New England history ;

because it fulfils this cradle of so much gone into a nation's life, greater than its own, with the records and riches of its own unique and primitive life, as no other man ever has, or at this late day can. As a nation ages, it looks back, and to its monuments. When this is done, it will discover easily in the waste of its earlier days, certainly in its province of New England, that in Sewall's Diary there is more of its own history, on its human side, than in any other writing of the times, not even excepting the Winthrop literature. Indeed, by its very form, as a Diary, Sewall unconsciously was compelled, for our comfort, to ally himself with the new men in history, and not the old, in writing primarily of the people, of their dress, periwigs, funeral and wedding favors, their dinners, town meetings, personal quarrels, and the innumerable trifles, and even foibles, which make up, for most, so much of life. As a man of such social position and locality that he was almost sure to meet almost any body or thing going, and a frequent traveller through the colony; officially so connected with government here and abroad as to see the inner working of affairs; as a judge brought in contact with the tenure and rights of property in some of its more picturesque effects; now involved in the Salem witchcraft business, and for years seeing the crime of the land coming into court for trial, and perhaps sentence, — there was no other man of his age so well fitted to write a Diary like his. And, besides, he had the mind to write and persistency in writing on for fifty-

five years, such as no other New England man of his age, at least, displayed. His performance in his Diary is in all ways suggestive and characteristic. It is very much as this land then was, — chaotic, migratory, rough, granite, actual, sincere. The barbaric wilderness, savage, cruel, vast, serves as the background of all his pictures, and not seldom, as an atmosphere, is often blown into them. While the Diary is rough, uncouth, and almost Gothic in its blunt, sometimes even coarse, downrightness, it is always sincere, confidential, and friendly. Sewall puts no gall in his ink, shows no malice, means to be just, with an intention that does not often fail him, and, in short, writes himself down as a strong-bodied, great-souled, honor-loving Puritan; not altogether above his age, — no genius, no saint except in intent, but withal as good “an all-round man” as New England has ever had. It is this man who has written our one great diary. Neither Evelyn nor Pepys uses more vivid colors than he. Often theirs are neither so vivid nor picturesque. Sewall’s colors are, indeed, often only glimpses, flashes that reveal long vistas into old things. Put in the permanency of his Diary, and one with an eye for the inner meaning, — the searcher after the light “that never was on land or sea,” — the lover of man who sees under all fashions of humanity an incarnation of the Divine which makes it reverend, holy, watches patiently and eagerly its honest pages, to meditate over the grave and almost endless problems which inhered in the

d New England life of the men called Puritans. Sewall's value is not simply in what he records, but also in what he suggests. The people who never forget whose sons they are, will ever remember Sewall as the man who holds the candle to many of the ancient secrets of the fathers.

The question whether Sewall ever expected his Diary to be published does not merit very much discussion, however we may decide it. There are certain facts which seem to answer either way. For instance, it may be said that any sane man, having written so singular a record, and intending publication, would take ample precautions to have it edited by some child or friend judicious enough to prune sharply in the interest of his own honor. Nothing of the sort appears to have been done. Possibly so sincere a man, having written with so much Puritan sobriety, might judge that nothing of the sort needed to be done. There seems to be a twofold presumption that he intended publication. For, first, if he did not, what possible motive could have kept him at the long and exacting labor of so voluminous a record? Second, traces are not wanting in the Diary itself of the fact that Sewall regarded the New England Puritans as servants, not of themselves, but of that great Master of men whose Law revealed to Moses they endeavored to make the statute law of the Colony, and in whose hand they held themselves as clay to the potter, to take on that shape and stamp He willed so that His world through their toil and sacrifice might become

more truly His.¹ That the Puritan was a man with a mission he himself firmly believed, and the fact has been often pointed out. Nor was this self-conceit, but self-surrender and self-absorption, on his part, into that Supreme Other Self who made him and all mankind. With the cross lights of heaven and history beating almost fiercely down upon the humility of him and his home in the wild, was it strange that an educated man, and a leader among his people, should try to tell to posterity how strangely and wonderfully God had dealt with His chosen? From this standpoint, at least, one is forced to conclude that Sewall, as the writing of his Diary proceeded, became aware that he was writing for posterity.

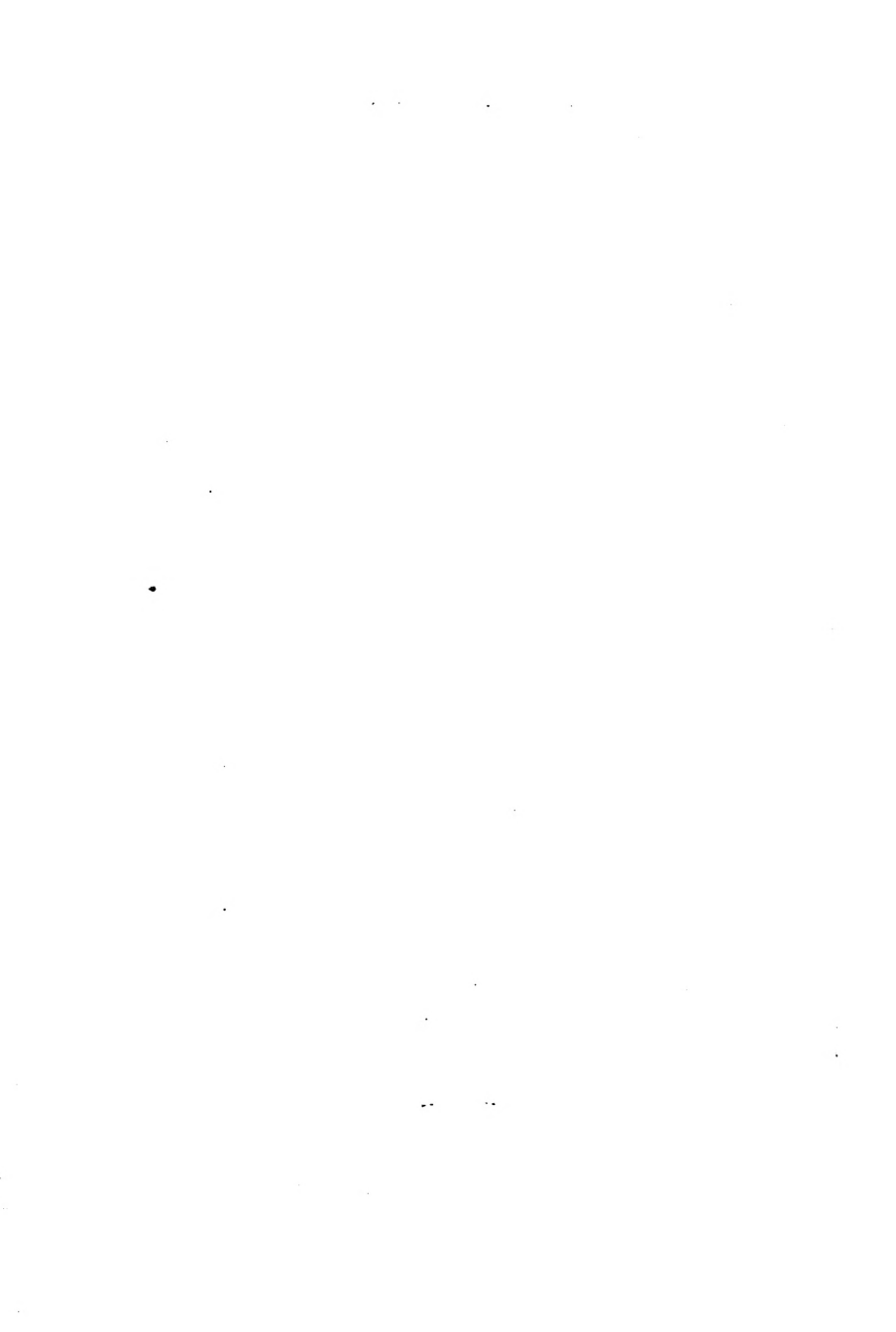
The substance of this Preface has already furnished the reasons why "Samuel Sewall and the World He Lived in" is now submitted to the public. A word or two as to its plan and purpose, and, indeed, as to its right to task the overwearied eye of conscientious

¹ There is a very striking expression of this feeling in Sewall's speech in Council after Lieutenant-Governor Dummer had taken the oaths of office Jan. 2, 1723: "When the representatives were returned to their own chamber I stood up and said, If your honor and this honorable board please to give me leave, I would speak a word or two on this solemn occasion. Although the unerring Providence of God has brought you to the chair of government in a cloudy and tempestuous time; yet you have this for your encouragement that the people you have to do with are a part of the Israel of God, and you may expect to have of the prudence and patience of Moses communicated to you for your conduct. It is evident that our almighty Savior counselled the first planters to remove hither and settle here; and they dutifully followed his advice; and therefore He will never leave nor forsake them nor theirs; so that your honor must needs be happy in sincerely seeking their interest and welfare; which your birth and education will incline you to do. *Difficilia quae pulchra*. I promise myself that they that sit at this board, will yield their faithful advice to your honor according to the duty of their place."

readers. It does not, then, pretend to original research ; it avoids, with intention, the minute exactness of the antiquarian, and it uses for its groupings and pictures of the ancient Puritan life such material, from any quarter whatsoever, as could be verified and made useful. It has tried not to mutilate or mislead in its excerpts, and, in general, hopes to have succeeded. It is indebted, first of all, to the *Diary* itself, as given to the public by the Massachusetts Historical Society ; and it is safe to say that without the aid of the publications of that Society any such book as this would be impossible. Since that Society exists to bring the treasures of American history to the American people, it is hoped, that in its own way, this book, availing itself of the Society's help, will assist in enlarging public interest in ancient things ; and it hereby refers all readers, in the ten thousand historical matters which it does not handle, to the publications of the Society, which now happily are become aids in any study of our history.

Furthermore, the author is deeply indebted to the historical essays of Dr. George E. Ellis, and especially to his "*Puritan Age in Massachusetts*," — a philosophy of New England Puritanism which is sure to last long in honor.

THE AUTHOR.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. SAMUEL SEWALL AND THE ENGLISH SOUTH LAND .	3
II. THE PURITAN IN OLD ENGLAND	10
III. THE PURITAN EXODUS	21
IV. SEWALL AND THE PURITAN CHURCH	43
V. SEWALL AND THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH . . .	64
VI. SEWALL AS A BUSINESS MAN	86
VII. TOWN AND COUNTRY LIFE TO 1700	98
VIII. SEWALL, THE INDIANS AND NEGROES	110
IX. SEWALL IN ENGLAND	135
X. SEWALL AND THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT	157
XI. CURRENT NEW ENGLAND LIFE FROM 1700 TO 1714,	178
XII. SEWALL AND THE PURITAN HOME-LIFE	205
XIII. BETTY SEWALL AND PURITAN MARRIAGES	224
XIV. ANNE BRADSTREET AND OUR PURITAN LITERATURE	236
XV. SEWALL AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND	254
XVI. CURRENT NEW ENGLAND LIFE FROM 1714 TO OCT.	
13, 1729	271
XVII. JUDGE SEWALL'S COURTSHIP OF MADAM WINTHROP,	
<i>Aliarumque</i>	281
XVIII. SEWALL AND SUNDRIES	297
XIX. A SUMMARY	304
APPENDIX	311

SAMUEL SEWALL
AND THE WORLD HE LIVED IN.



SAMUEL SEWALL

AND THE WORLD HE LIVED IN.

CHAPTER I.

SAMUEL SEWALL AND THE ENGLISH SOUTH LAND.

SAMUEL SEWALL was born at Bishopstoke, Hampshire, England, March 28, 1652, — “so that the light of the Lord’s Day was the first light that my eyes saw being born a little before daybreak. I was baptized by Mr. Rashly (sometime member of the church in Boston, England), in Stoke Church, April 4, 1652. Mr. Rashly first preached a sermon, and then baptized me; after which an enrollment was made for him and many more.” His great-grandfather, Henry Sewall, beyond whom his family cannot be traced, was a linen-draper at London, where he acquired a fortune, and was several times elected mayor. His grandfather, the eldest son, a Puritan, from dislike to the English church, sent over Sewall’s father, Henry, “with cattle and provisions suitable for a new plantation. . . . Mr. Cotton would have had my father settle

at Boston ; but, in regard of his cattle, he chose to go to Newbury, where my grandfather soon followed him." In 1646 the father married, "being then about thirty-two, and my mother about nineteen years of age." The climate not agreeing with some of the elders, Henry Sewall returned with them to Hampshire, England, in 1647, where Samuel Sewall was born, and bred until 1661, when the family returned to New England by way of London.

Sewall's early years were therefore spent in the English South Land. This fact, of itself, is of no particular account ; but in connection with the other fact that many of Sewall's neighbors in Boston were from there, and retained and transmitted at least the memory of its old customs, it may be as well to look a little at the civilization of the seventeenth century then extant in South England, when Sewall and so many of the old Bostonians emigrated. Indeed, he will add the next most charming page in our written history who will relate the life of Old England, with the primitive life of the New. The English South Land lies, of course, along the English Channel, which has always been an open gate for English discovery and enterprise towards the West. The sun is warmer there than in the North Land, and its gardens and orchards fuller. It is the land of the Saxon, as the North is of the Dane ; a land where William the Conqueror landed ; with men and women of a ruddy countenance, and of old, contented, full-fed, sunny-hearted, and inclined to the Saxon repose, in contrast with the Norseman's en-

prise. Sewall's portrait shows the Saxon type. London has for long been the heart of England; but, in general, movements in English religion or politics have originated towards the North. In this South Land, so conservative of ancient habits, when Sewall was born, the civilization was narrow, rustic more than a trifle coarse, but also hearty, picturesque, and vivid, as out of warm Southron blood. It would surprise many a demure and proper family of our date if they could only know how their English ancestors fared three hundred years ago across seas.

Women scolds (and they were plenty) were then ducked, although Lord Holt gravely said of one such brought before his court, that if they ducked her she would be sure to scold on to her life's end. Women were employed to whip petty criminals in public; and a good wife, as late as 1718, earned her shilling this way. The drunkard's cloak, for punishment, was a cask with a hole in the top for his head and a hole on each side for his arms. Apprentices, for the first seven years, were forbid to keep fighting-cocks or hunting-dogs. Cock-fighting was a school exercise, and the cost put in the term bills. A common village house was made of oak beams, with the interstices on the outside filled up with mortar; a deep round cellar, entered by a flight of steps that projected far out upon the sidewalk, the steps protected by a trap-door; while the shops were open to the streets, and without glass. Very often there were only two or three chimneys in a good-sized town, and these on the squire's or parson's house.

(The first Boston chimneys were chiefly of wood, and hence frequent fires.) Many of the old churches stand there to-day, but the rule of them in ancient days was, to say the least, peculiar. When pews first came in, in King James I.'s days, their green baize was found to harbor insects, and a regular charge was made in some parishes for "salting the fleas." Charges were also made for "mossing the church," which probably was some way of scouring it on great occasions, just as the roads were only repaired when some great person was to pass by. The old amusements in churches and churchyards have been described so often as not to need mention here. To a poor widow, asking the price of a funeral sermon for her husband, a parish clerk made answer that some were 10s. — one even as low as 7s. 6d., which no one would ever know to be a funeral sermon; but that there would not be a dry eye in the house if the guinea one was preached. Marriage notices were often accompanied by such mundane announcements as these: "Mr. Baskett to Miss Pell with £5,000," "Lord Bishop of St. Asaph to Miss Orell with £30,000." Old Fuller saw an ancient lady being drawn to church near Lewes in her own coach by six oxen. William Blackstone, Boston's first white settler, after he went away, used to go about in a cart with one.

The social life was still more curious. All work that could be was apparently done out-doors. The women washed in the street. In some places there was a town "spit" for roasting meats, and the cooks about dinner-time were seen running around to hunt

up their dogs to turn the same. In Charles II.'s time only 12,000 tons of coal were mined in contrast with 188,277,525 tons in 1894, and the common people must have used fagots. Mantelpieces got their name from the English custom of hanging up their clothes there to dry. They must have been rather coarse eaters and drinkers, though the drink was sometimes thin, as witness the indictment against Isabella Stansby (35 Henry VIII.) for brewing ale "not mighty of corn." The ale-wives — i.e., women who sold beer — were always giving the magistrates much trouble. Potatoes, first planted by an Irishman in Devon, were long objected to as breeding leprosy. Cider was much in vogue, especially in the South Land, where orchards abounded, and were usual places of family retreat, where company was entertained; and the Quaker George Fox's Journal shows that there was often preaching in such places. New England people come honestly enough by orchards and cider, and Governor Endicott tells us how at Salem he bought two hundred and fifty acres, and paid for three hundred apple-trees. Wickliffe must have known the strength of old cider; for he translates St. Luke i. 15, where in our version it is "strong drink," "He shall be great, and shall not drink wine nor cider."

All travel was slow, and to a degree dangerous, even in times of peace. The roads were mere lanes, and bad at that. Guides were often sent to show the fords and the way from one town to another. Heavy wagons with iron wheel-tires were sometimes forbidden by law as dangerous to roads and bridges.

Hackney coaches, at their introduction, were abhorred for the same reason, and because it was thought that they would raise the price of hay. That rascal Titus Oakes denounced the letter mail as a popish plot; and when the mail came to Glasgow, then a fortnight distant from London, its arrival was announced by the firing of cannon. The post coach would sometimes agree with its passengers beforehand to stop over at any town on the way where a cock-fight was proceeding. There is not wanting such public news as this: "The fly coach from London to Exeter slept at Morcomb Lake the fifth night, proceeded next morning to Axminster, where it breakfasted, and there a woman barber shaved the coach." The bells rang in Bridgewater, nineteen days after Cromwell had been made Protector. Tradesmen from the provinces going up to London made their wills, and then often walked afoot, much in the same solemn frame of mind as Sewall had when, on his return amid vivid dangers from Cambridge or Roxbury Neck, he writes "*Laus Deo.*"

This old English life explains a great many quaint fashions and habits of mind in our forefathers. Of course the Puritans' piety often turned from the ancient ways with horror; but then they were also men of the English blood, and the cases are not infrequent in our history where the blood got the better of the piety, which is, at least, human. At any rate, many of our ancient New England ways, as well as the names of our ancient towns especially, derive themselves from the English South Land.

Sewall's account of his voyage and landing as a young emigrant nine years old at Boston is: "We were about eight weeks at sea, where we had nothing to see but water and the sky; so that I began to fear that I should never get to shore again; only I thought the captain and the mariners would not have ventured themselves, if they had not hopes of getting to land again. On the Lord's Day my mother kept aboard; but I went ashore, the boat grounded and I was carried out in arms, July 6, 1661."

CHAPTER II.

BRITAIN IN OLD ENGLAND.

This book intends to avoid philosophies, and would fail to show the roots of its subject, at the start, attempt to give some account of English Puritanism,—that singular development which colors Sewall's life and the life of his people. Indeed, that movement is certain ennobling colors which tone and direct legislation in all the empires of that kind that have scattered over the globe, and its spirit to some determines, in a reach neither fully understood, many things in the destiny of people which, for want of a more exact term, we call the Anglo-Saxon. But Puritanism was the child of the Reformation which was born in the land of the English, and, though kin to all Reformation, had its own special gait, genius, and conduct. Now, as to the Reformation, so called. In all the eighteen ages since the Mysterious One "was brought up at Nazareth," no movement of this kind is more full of subtle mystery and hidden meaning, more reachable by speculation, than this same Reformation, especially as to its beginnings. One of the first steps was to the new Greek learning, to the

printing-press, to the Saracens, to commerce with Oriental nations, even; to accident, to fate, — and yet there is something down below these accidents of time, inspiring and urging on this great revolution in the mind of Christendom. Agnosticism may call it kismet or destiny. The writer of this book assumes for a standpoint, and with the assent of all reformed Christianity, that the springs of this movement were in the mind of One who, for want of a wiser name, the English-speaking peoples are wont to call God. At any rate, no imperial event in civilization is, as to its origin, more entitled to have applied to it those ancient words: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and ye hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. So is every one that is born of the Spirit." This is especially true of the Reformation in England. The seeds of that reform which modified the religion of the West, — the politics and economics of dominant races also, — grew, for some reason, first on English soil; and as leaves falling from the autumn trees are sometimes borne aloft of winds, and while some fall nigh at hand, others are carried across seas to lands strange to their fading beauty, so the seeds of England's mighty reform, first of all disseminated in its own soil, were borne across the channel, by what air-currents one knows not, until they infected the Continent with what some men call heresy, and John Huss died in the orchards of Constance for the new faith some generations before Martin Luther

...the error
...Christianism. Tha
...the performer
...But they were al
...they of
...before Venice o
...It may be argu
...in men and
...to do with
...English blood
...pliant not
...Danish vikings, out
...ships to con
...the freedom of
...the free waves
...stars at night
...vision, until
...that this
...too, — too
...in the chants
...a bit of sac
...the world
...not court
...Pater
...to laws
...which
...filled
...The
...nd.

and the Lollards. In a measure the same facts may be true of other strains of English blood, not necessary to be stated here.

Wickliffe came in the fourteenth century, and was only a voice, like St. John the Baptist in the wilderness, demanding a reform towards decency and righteousness. But the temper of reform must have been older than he, and the crying evils of the land also. No Puritan was ever more bitter or unsparing towards false prelates or corrupt churches than he and the Lollards were. They were root and branch men against Rome, as all their fathers were, and as the Lollard tracts published by the Camden Society show. Then came Henry VIII. in the sixteenth century, with his wives and cause—whatever the last may be. But the Lollards had been already for almost three hundred years the Puritans of England, and they gave the king small thanks, going their own solitary and dangerous way, in a courage which no English king nor prelate ever quelled by axe or stake. Nothing is argued here as to what, if anything, was good or bad in the English Reformation. Whether good or bad, Lollardism, evolved into Puritanism, was the soul and flame of it, and did not quail before Henry, before Mary, before Elizabeth,—nor even before a dead headless king on the scaffold which it had built. It is the radical Protestant element of the English Reformation.

In the years between Henry VIII. and Charles I. Puritanism evolved itself into its logical form, and

crystallized its own consciousness. This it was able to do because it could now educate itself at Oxford and Cambridge, and because its leaders had wider data and more exact tests to go upon in proving all matters touching the religious or political status of man, holding fast only what was found good. A great movement never explodes; it takes steps, and so long as it is living it moves on, never looking back, but always in the direction of its first intent and virgin vision. If in any age it halt and pitch tents it is to be up and about, delving lustily in the soil of its new domain. When it is quelled, or drowns, it accepts its grave, out of which, so perennial is true greatness, come perfumes gracious to the great. It does not appear that Puritanism has ever yet died at the heart, and the fragrance of its granite virtues remain as a benison upon its posterity. Oliver Cromwell and John Milton, if now on earth, would find conscience and conduct free enough in these United States to please even these foes of kings and priestcraft. Life is not a machine framed out of articulated parts, but a river whose lapse is continuous, running deep or shallow as the soil serves, and when fretted or barred by rock or dike gathering head until it overtops the obstacle, and sweeps on, generally in a white rage of ruin. Under Henry VIII. the Puritan tide, restrained so long by the barrier of the ancient ecclesiasticism, broke through and swept away the Roman bondage which had ruled in the name of God; under Charles under like restraint of personal government in the name of English statute law, it swept away the

But what, now, was this radical Protestantism, which we call English Puritanism, to work such dominating results? There were in it those masterful ideas which, ever looking towards both church and state, have hastened and agonized ever since in the West to establish true liberty, both in religion and politics. But how? And why? The Reformation was an attempt at a new and radical adjustment between the individual and human society. For of old, man had seemed to exist for church and state; now it was demanded that church and state should exist for man. Of old, these twin corporations of authority had seemed by their very magnitude and magnificence to abase by contrast and by conduct into littleness the worshipper and the subject. Henceforth, to a degree, every man was to be his own priest, and a king because he was a man. Protestantism at its core is the apotheosis of individualism, and the most relentless of democracies. It declares the individual to be the unit, the articulated blood globule of society upon whose health and safety the peace and thrift of all human institutions depend; that when this individual blood globule is hurt in its identity, or confused in masses with others, like, by any corporation, exactly as the cobra's poison works by confusing and compounding the blood globules of its victim in an unarticulated mass, then the common weal shrivels and tends to the dust. This enthronement and canonization of the individual, accepted gradually but infallibly by English Puritanism, rested upon a religious idea which was this, — that as an incarnate God,

while wearing our flesh, had once died for every man, so no man thus redeemed could, without sacrilege, be abased by any tyranny of prelate or king from his privilege of remaining a "child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." This point is argued with a most eager pathos by Macaulay in his Essay on John Milton, in a passage now fashionably sneered at by some of our callow critics, but which yet remains the most accurate statement of Puritanism in its ideal logic extant in the English tongue. Here is the root of English Protestantism as seen in all its ages in all its sects,—in the right of private judgment of the Scriptures, in a town meeting, in a revolution, in a civilization. Puritan politics are born of Puritan dogmatics,—and their whole history shows not otherwise. Here is the root of the French Revolution, and ours also, and the mainspring of English civilization for the last three hundred years.

Charles I. and the Church of England obstructed this Puritanism with ecclesiastical and political behaviors which the Puritan thought unjust, and offences against man. In due time the rule of both became intolerable, and Hampden protested against the ship-money demanded by the king, while a thousand Puritan parsons distressed, and were distressed by, the primate of all England, Laud. Revolution logically followed, and both king and primate, and greater than both, Strafford, died under the axe. Many men had died so long before; but for the first time in history private men, under solemn guise of law and prayers, smote so their own sovereign. The edge of the axe

which smote Charles was this root idea of Puritanism, and the sound of it in falling proclaimed that the privilege of the people makes henceforth the law of the land. It is idle to say that all this sad work might have been avoided by the wisdom of the parties to the dispute. The parties to the dispute were the victims, not the criminals. The cause in issue had been framed of old by generations of prelates and statesmen long before Wickliffe and the Stuarts, and the case had to be tried upon its merits. The authorities of the English church and state were thought by their adherents to hold a venerable trust, which most Englishmen to-day would pronounce treason, to surrender without trial; and Puritanism could do no other than it did. A gentle primate, as Abbot was, would have no more availed for final peace than Laud did. A wiser and better king than Charles might have postponed, but could not have prevented, the struggle. Despite Cavalier follies or Puritan absurdities, the cause and the contention had to come. If it had come much later, England would have certainly fared much worse. The head of an Alpine stream against the barrier of a fallen avalanche grows more threatening every hour. War against Charles I. in the seventeenth century makes Queen Victoria possible in the nineteenth. The Puritan temper has never faded out of the consciousness of that England which, some ways, is the freest of all lands.

The Puritan drift, having killed a king, created an English Commonwealth of Parliament and Oliver Cromwell's sword. In the name of God Puritanism

maintained itself for a few years, and failed. But while it lasted it ever appealed to the "higher law" of God as the supreme and salutary fountain of all true government. It maintained in its highest circles the duty of regicide upon due occasion. Its mouthpiece, John Milton, writes :--

"Why not inflict justice on tyrants? To teach lawless kings and all who so much adore them that not mortal man or his imperious will but justice is the only true sovereign and supreme majesty on earth."

It analyzed human government down to its roots, and elaborated a philosophy of a nation's economic and political life which, while improved upon when seen under the new lights of human experience, must still remain as the very woof of all republics which endure. This philosophy stands forth in such ringing and subtle sentences as these of Milton :--

"For indeed none can love freedom heartily but good men; the rest love not freedom but license which never hath more scope or more indulgence than under tyrants. Hence it is that tyrants are not oft offended nor stand much in doubt of bad men, as being all naturally servile. But in whom virtue and true worth most is eminent, them they fear in earnest, as by right their master. Against them lies all their hatred and suspicion."

Yet Puritanism failed as a governing force on Englishmen. It failed, not because its root ideas were false, but because the Puritans themselves, being men, were fallible, and, as themselves said, had their treasure in earthen vessels, not in the box of

alabaster. These earthen vessels became, under the hammers of the enemies whom their fanaticism bred up, but broken potsherds; yet the very precious ointment which, as some thought, fell to the earth at their overthrow has lent a fragrance to the atmosphere of Anglo-Saxon living ever since. They failed because their environment was hopelessly against them. They appealed to the will of the people, obedient to their new faith; and the will of the vast majority of Englishmen was away from them, and towards the national church and king. This the Restoration proves. To one looking below the surface, they do not appear to have failed in Time, — only for a time. For ever since in England — in her times of danger, as when Charles II. kept unclean house with the still uncleaner gold of France, a purchased slave of Louis XIV. ; when James II. tampered with England's faith and England's statute law, as his father had; when Wilberforce pleaded for free soil under the British flag for black as well as white; when the Corn Laws agitation shook the vested rights of the English aristocracy almost to overthrow, as Greville's *Memoirs* tell us; when again and again England has looked to her sword as she took the field against the Gaul or the Muscovite, and the thunder of her battle-ships quelled almost the winds to calm — the sturdy Puritan temper has vindicated its right to still live in honor, and still remains a menace to all tyranny in church or state both sides of the Atlantic.

Some people affect to laugh at English Puritanism; but they are not wise who do so. Some Ameri-

cans read their prayers and almost endless sermon with a smile, but forget the prowess of their virtues. But every wise lover of the privilege of man greets their memory with the sympathy bred from the knowledge that the very and urgent problems which the English Puritans in the seventeenth century tried to solve, and failed, inhere in the history and future of this republic, and are still unsettled.

CHAPTER III.

THE PURITAN EXODUS.

IF a Puritan, just come to Massachusetts Bay, had been asked what phrase would best describe his singular emigration, he might have answered, in his religious intensity and sincerity, that it should be called the New Exodus. If questioned further, he would have stoutly affirmed that the Puritans, once more in the economy of Heaven, had become a chosen people, and, on denial, would have pointed to the Covenant which they had formally made with God as proof. For indeed there was a correspondence in fortune between the Puritans and the Children of Israel. The Puritan, too, had come out of the Egypt where the Pharaohs were the archbishops and the idolatry was out of Mass Book and Prayer Book. He, too, had passed the Red Sea, which, if not divided in his behoof, had yet availed by distance to keep back his enemy from his track. He, too, had left the pyramids of an old civilization, rich in the storied monuments of palace and cathedral, for the wild, and the Promised Land which lay at the end of his travail. Above all, both Hebrews and Puritans worshipped the same Jehovah, the statute-book of whom had become the supreme authority

in both theocracies. It should be added that a similarity in circumstance and religion is apt to create a resemblance in character.

Of course the Puritans were not the first white men at the Bay. When Winthrop arrived here (1630) probably three hundred whites were here; with him came about one thousand, and in the next twenty years, in some three hundred ships, there came out some twenty thousand more.

To emigrate or go a sea voyage was no novelty in the seventeenth century to Englishmen. But generally the men who expatriated themselves were young or unmarried or reckless or given to wild adventures. But the Puritans were generally in middle life, married, and with families, with roots struck deep down into the English soil, conservative and prudent in business ventures, and their emigration was a violent and sorrowful wrenching away of themselves from what most civilized men count most dear. That they emigrated at all shows that they were in deadly strife with something in England; and that something was no less than a national church, backed in its rule by the Crown. Ages of high religious excitement, curiously enough whether in Mohammedan or Christian, tend to take a pessimistic view of this world's affairs, possibly because they measure them by those celestial grandeur to which they believe themselves heritors, and find earthly things small and mean in contrast. Besides, ages like the Puritan age have so full faith in God and care of His own, that the best, believing that wha

ever is is right, come very near to being fatalists. The sharpness of the Saracen scimitar against Christendom of old was not more love of God than a sense that, if he liked, God would keep His safe in the most fatal strife. There were shades of melancholia and fatalism even in Puritans of the loftiest mind,—at least, among the early settlers in New England. Nor perhaps were these lessened by the overthrow of Cromwell's Commonwealth and the Restoration of Charles II. A high-bred Puritan writes :—

“For the business of New England, I can say no other thing but that I believe confidently, that the whole disposition thereof, is of the Lord who disposeth all alterations, by his blessed will to his own glory and the good of his; and therefore do assure myself that all things shall work together for the best therein. As for myself, I have seen so much of the vanity of the world, that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries, than as so many inns, whereof the traveller who hath lodged in the best or in the worst, findeth no difference when he cometh to his journey's end; and I shall call that my country where I may most glorify God and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends.”

But whatever be the more recondite aspects of the Puritan Exodus, one thing is plain; viz., that the emigration became very often an epic and a tragedy in the hearts of the men and women who sailed away or stayed behind. In most, of course, all this agony failed to write itself down, and went voiceless to the grave with those who suffered, as is the lot of most.

But the letters of men like Winthrop doubtless voice the common pangs, though the voice in him and them sounds like a man who will not quail. There are certain letters of his to different members of his family hardly to be outmatched in power by any like letters in the literature of the world.

As the date for embarking for New England approaches, and business in London and elsewhere multiplies, his letters preparing his wife for their separation (she was now in delicate health) multiply also. Jan. 31, 1629, he writes :—

“I must now begin to prepare thee for our long parting which grows very near. I know not how to deal with thee by arguments; for if thou wert as wise and patient as ever woman was, yet it must needs be a great trial to thee, and the greater because I am so dear to thee. That which I must chiefly look at in thee, for a ground of contentment is thy godliness. If now the Lord be thy God, thou must show it by trusting in him and resigning thyself quietly to his good pleasure. If now Christ be thy husband thou must show what sure and sweet intercourse is between him and thy soul when it shall be no hard thing for thee to part with an earthly mortal, infirm husband for his sake. The enlargement of thy comfort in the communion of the love and sweet familiarity of thy most holy, heavenly and undefiled Lord and Husband will abundantly recompense whatsoever want or inconvenience may come by the absence of the other. The best course is to turn all our reasons and discourse into prayers; for he only can help who is Lord of sea and land and hath sole power of life and death. . . . So I kiss my sweet wife and rest,

Thy frail, yet faithful husband

JO WINTHROP.”

Feb. 14 he writes :—

MY SWEET WIFE, —

The opportunity of so fit a messenger and my deep engagement of affection for thee, makes me write at this time, though I hope to follow soon after. The Lord our God hath oft brought us together with comfort, when we have been long absent ; and if it be good for us, he will do so still. When I was in Ireland, he brought us together again. When I was sick here at London he restored us together again. How many dangers, near death, hast thou been in thyself ; and yet the Lord hath granted me to enjoy thee still. If he did not watch over us, we need not go over sea to seek death or misery ; we should meet it at every step, in every journey. And is not he a God abroad as well as at home ? Is not his power and providence the same in New England that it hath been in Old England ? If our ways please him he can command deliverance and safety in all places and can make the stones of the field and the beasts, yea the raging seas and our very enemies, to be in league with us. But if we sin against him he can raise up evil against us out of our own bowells, houses, estates &c. My good wife, trust in the Lord whom thou hast found faithful. He will be better to thee than any husband and will restore thee thy husband with advantage. But I must end with all the salutations with which I have laden this bearer, that he may be the more kindly welcome. So I kiss my sweet wife and bless thee and all ours and rest Thine ever.

Feby. 14, 1629.

JO WINTHROP.

Thou must be my valentine, for none hath challenged me.

On shipboard, and preparing to set sail on the morrow, he writes this graphic and all-wise pathetic letter :—

MY FAITHFUL AND DEAR WIFE, —

It pleaseth God that thou shouldst once again hear from me before our departure, and I hope this shall come safe to thy

hands. I know it will be a great refreshing to thee. And blessed be his mercy that I can write thee so good news that we are all in very good health and having tried our ships entertainment, now more than a week, we find it agree very well with us. Our boys are well and cheerful, and have no mind of home. They lie both with me and sleep as soundly in a rug (for we use no sheets here) as ever they did at Groton; and so I do myself, (I praise God). The wind hath been against us this week and more; but this day it is come fair to the north, so that we are preparing (by God's assistance) to set sail in the morning. We have only four ships ready and some two or three Hollanders go along with us. The rest of our fleet, being seven ships (the Pilgrim Mayflower being one) will not be ready this sennight. We have spent now two Sabbaths on shipboard very comfortably (God be praised) and are daily more and more encouraged to look for the Lord's presence to go along with us. Henry Kingsbury hath a child or two in the Talbot, sick of the measles, but like to do well. One of my men had them at [South] Hampton, but he was soon well again. We are, in all our eleven ships, about seven hundred persons, passengers and two hundred and forty cows and about sixty horses. The ship which went from Plimouth carried about one hundred and forty persons and the ship which goeth from Bristowe [Bristol] carrieth about eighty persons. And now, my sweet soul, I must once again take my last farewell of thee in Old England. It goeth very near to my heart to leave thee; but I know to whom I have committed thee, even to him who loves thee better than any husband can, who has taken account of the hairs of thy head and puts all thy tears in his bottle, who can and (if it be for his glory) will bring us together again with peace and comfort. O, how it refresheth my heart to think that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living!—that lovely countenance that I have so much delighted in and beheld with so great content. I have hitherto been so taken up with business as I could seldom look back to my former happiness; but now

when I shall be at some leisure I shall not avoid the remembrance of thee, nor the grief for thy absence. Thou hast thy share with me but I hope the course we have agreed upon will be some ease to us both. Mondays and Fridays at five of the clock at night we shall meet in spirit until we meet in person. Yet, if all these hopes should fail blessed be our own God that we are assured we shall meet one day, if not as husband and wife, yet in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thy heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of thy husband or children. Therefore I will only take thee now and my sweet children in my arms and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with my God. Farewell, farewell. I bless you all in the name of the Lord Jesus. . . .

Thine wheresoever

JO WINTHROP.

From aboard the *Arbella* riding at the Cowes March 28
1630.

Elsewhere in the story of Sewall's voyage into England one sees how it fared with passengers crossing the Atlantic in English ships. The ships themselves were small, far below in architecture vessels of these days both in safety and convenience; the fare was meagre, enemies abounded, charts and pilots were few, shoals many, and, in short, the voyage out of Old England into New was beset with hardships and dangers.

In trying to get insight into our old New England civilization one fact should never be forgotten; to wit, that our ancestors here were emigrants, — exactly what that word implies. True, they were rare and singular emigrants, but for all that, at least for a hundred years, New England folk fared as emigrants,

and as the descendants of emigrants, in a wilderness rife with fevers, labors, and foes. And the strife to conquer a civilization out of all this began with the voyage. John Winthrop in his Journal gives us very representative pictures of how it usually fared on an English ship with Puritan emigrants. By the Puritans who stayed behind such a company were regarded with all that tender interest and respect which Christians show nowadays in taking leave of those who go out to some dangerous missionary field on the Congo or in Burmah. Tuesday, April 6, 1630: "Capt. Burleigh, captain of Yarmouth Castle, a grave comely gentleman and of great age came aboard us and stayed breakfast and offering us much courtesy departed, our captain giving him four shot, out of the forecandle for his farewell. He was an old sea captain in Elizabeths time and, being taking prisoner at sea was kept prisoner in Spain three years."

Of course in those days all ships went armed, and the men as well. "Our captain called over our landmen and tried them at their muskets and such as were good shot among them, were enrolled to serve in the ship, if occasion should be." April 9, while still in the Channel, there was a warlike turmoil on board. "We saw these eight ships [mistaken for enemies] to stand towards us; having more wind than we they came up apace; whereupon we all prepared to fight with them [the English ships were only four] and took down some cabins which were in the way of our ordnance and out of every ship were thrown such bed matters as were subject to

take fire and we heaved out our long boats and put up our waste cloths and drew forth our men and armed them with muskets and other weapons and instruments for fire works; and for an experiment our captain shot a ball of wild fire fastened to an arrow, out of a crossbow, which burnt in the water a good time. The lady Arbella [Johnson] and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger. All things being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the upper deck. It was much to see how cheerful and comfortable all the company appeared; not a woman or child that showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great, if things had proved as might well be expected, for there had been eight against four, and the least of the enemy's ships were reported to carry thirty brass pieces; but our trust was in the Lord of Hosts; and the courage of our captain and his care and diligence did much encourage us. It was now about one of the clock and the fleet seemed to be within a league of us; therefore our captain, because he would show he was not afraid of them, and that he might see the issue before night should overtake us, tacked about and stood to meet them, and when we came near we perceived them to be our friends. . . . And so (God be praised) our fear and danger was turned into mirth and friendly entertainment." Is it strange that men who would burn their bed-straw, and then go to prayer upon the upper deck, in preparation to fight two ships with one, even turning back to meet them, are

found in history to be stout men to win their way to their will?

They solaced themselves, Winthrop writes, after the scare, by each ship launching out a skiff and boarding some fishermen; "and we bought of them great store of excellent fresh fish of diverse sorts."

There were prayers on board several times a day, and frequent sermons, when the weather served; fasts for head winds, and thanksgivings for fair. These ordinances were only intermitted when ministers and people were all seasick. Yet they carried the world with them, notwithstanding so much of heavenly exercise. The world, in this case, were thieves, brawlers, and people who wouldn't keep their quarters clean. Plenty of salt water under a master washed away the dirt; and as for the others, pat and homely punishments soon reduced them to their duty. "This day [April 10] two young men falling at odds and fighting contrary to the orders which we had published and set up in the ship were adjudged to walk upon the deck till night with their hands bound behind them which accordingly was executed; and another man for using contemptuous speeches in our presence, was laid in bolts until he submitted himself and promised open confession of his offence. . . . Set two fighters in the bolts till night with their hands bound behind them. . . . A maid servant in the ship being stomach-sick drank so much strong water that she was senseless and had near killed herself. We observed it a common fault in our young people that they gave themselves to

drink hot waters very immoderately. . . . A servant of one of our company had bargained with a child to sell it a box worth 3*℥*. for three biscuits a day all the voyage and had received about forty and had sold them and many more to some other servants. We caused his hands to be tied up to a bar and hanged a basket with stones about his neck and so he stood two hours."

The voyage lasted from March 29 to June 12. Winthrop's Journal shows all sorts of weather, much of it stormy. He speaks of "a small gale," "a good gale," "a stiff gale," and "a handsome gale." There were fogs also. Occasionally the captains came aboard to dine, or one ship waited for another ship laggard or in distress of rigging. Occasionally they borrowed meal or other edibles from each other. In some of the other ships both cattle and passengers died, while several children were born. When there was a new baby on board Winthrop's ship, and there was need of help from a consort, "we shot off a piece and lowered our topsails and then she brailed her sails and stayed for us." With the customary Winthrop taste for scientific observation, he remarks that the sun's rays are not so warm as at home. "This evening [June 1] we saw the new moon more than half an hour after sunset, being much smaller than it is at any time in England. . . . May 17. We saw a great drift; so we heaved out our skiff and it proved a fir log which seemed to have been many years in the water, for it was all overgrown with barnacles and other trash. We saw two whales."

Sometimes a strange vessel would run away from them, despite their friendly signals, or their consorts fell or sailed out of sight, to their vexation. They were now nearing land, Monday 7 (June). "About 4 in the morning we sounded and had ground at thirty fathom, and was somewhat calm ; so we put our ship a-stays and took, in less than two hours, with a few hooks, sixty seven codfish, most of them very great fish, some a yard and a half long, and a yard in compass. This came very seasonably, for our salt fish was now spent and we were taking care for victuals this day (being a fish day)." June 8 they made land at Mount Desert. Then they stood along the coast, towards Salem, catching many mackerel, and sighting vessels until Saturday 12 (June). "About 4 in the morning we were near our port. We shot off two pieces of ordnance and sent our skiff to Mr. Pierce's ship which lay in the harbour." In the afternoon Governor Endicott and the Salem pastor came on board, and the emigrants had touched their new home. "In the mean time most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann which lay very near us and gathered store of fine strawberries. An Indian came aboard us and lay there all night. . . . Lord's Day 13. In the morning the sagamore of Agawam and one of his men came aboard our ship and stayed with us all day. Thursday 17. We went to Mattachusetts to find out a place for our sitting down: Went up Mestick River about six miles." So the Exodus reached Boston.

The land they settled was strange to them. They

had to learn the climate, and to provide for it ; and their experiments in crops, following English methods, had to be slowly verified by results. There was almost no cleared land for their tillage, except the Indian cornfields, which they left to their owners. Salt marshes and fresh meadows might give them hay for the mowing, but in general it was a huge forest they set themselves to subdue. This was the main business for generations. The highest in rank formed no exception. Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, as Sewall tells us, was found by his visitors carting in his corn ; Chief Justice Lynde took, occasionally, a hand at mowing ; and Endicott appears to have held a sort of farm-school on his acres, with himself as teacher by example. Many of the Winthrops were practised farmers. Agriculture stood first in the general business interests of the country. The invoices of the merchants show this, — spades, scythes, and sieves for sifting meal, being the most common entries. There were no roads but Indian trails and the rivers. Men were sent out to find the best course from one place to another. These roads, at least in the shore districts, followed the highlands, to avoid rivers and creeks, which would have necessitated bridges, which they were too poor to undertake. When a miserable bridge was ordered over Eel River, every town in Plymouth Colony was taxed to pay for it. Most intercourse between towns was by a horsetrack and on horseback. Judge Lynde, who succeeded Sewall as chief justice, while on his circuit makes this entry in his Diary as late as 1726 :

"1726. At landing [over the Merrimac from Newbury, north shore] we rode by a stone wall where our horses were mired and floundered and I hurt my right hand against the wall, but through God's goodness, not much; and had not God helped I might have dashed not my hand or foot, but my body and head against the rocks. God's name be praised now and ever for his preventing as well as his restoring mercies thus repeated to me."

Sewall escaped the most primitive of these hardships, coming here some thirty years after Winthrop, in 1661. But he, too, had to face the dangers of the road in his frequent journeys as a judge or business man. He writes it down in his Diary that one of his friends had a wonderful escape crossing Charlestown Ferry, and lives were sometimes lost there. After his dangerous journeys from Boston to Roxbury, Brookline, and especially Cambridge, he signifies his gratitude for his safety by pious entries in his Diary.

Such distant journeys as from Boston to Salem or Portsmouth often began and concluded with stated prayers. Private houses were, in most places, the only inns. The first houses, even at Boston, must have been very much like sheds or shanties, and this must have been even worse in the smaller places. Under oak-trees, or in the lee of some huge rock, they held their meetings, or in some storehouse. At the founding of New Haven Colony the Rev. Mr. Davenport preached in a barn, but from a lordly text (Prov. ix. 1): "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars."

Rev. Mr. Wilson of Boston upon occasion could harangue a crowd from a tree, as is on record. Our fathers had "faculty," and could adapt themselves to circumstances with a tact and *finesse* not excelled by the acknowledged ability in these respects of the best class of pioneers in our West.

It took time for the Puritans to adapt themselves to their new home. That home, for those who could use it, was no desert, though a wild. Sea-food for the coast-dwellers was marvellously plentiful; and it has always been an enigma to those who know the land, why, with the sea-sands about them crammed with shellfish, any one of the Plymouth Pilgrims in health had need to die with hunger in their winter famine. Yet owing to bad crops there was sometimes want among the people.

At one time, tradition is that there was but one pint of corn in the whole settlement of Plymouth Colony, which gave to each person only five kernels. At the Pilgrim Celebration in 1820, five kernels were placed by the plate of each guest, in memory.

Yet food was sometimes very high. The authorities were charged in the Narragansett War (1675) for pork at the rate of twenty dollars a barrel. In fact, for generations New England lived on the edge of lack, and was only kept from falling into actual food want by the unremitting energy of its people. In the earlier years food was imported again and again. Nor was this limitation in physical comforts and thrift confined to the common people.

The Winthrop letters, especially those of Wait

Winthrop, give us a very vivid picture of the hardships which even the best suffered in their household life in the early years of the colony. In these letters we see able, educated men very busy, far-sighted business men of property facing a poverty and meagre diet at which the mechanics and laborers of to-day would stand aghast. It was not always so, and some of the younger Winthrops came to have comforts; yet the poverty must have lasted very long with the common people, and the toil, beyond that of serfs, has reached in the country far into this century. Nearly all of them were farmers, dreading Indians and pirates, raising cattle in the wilds or on distant islands, which seem to have been favorite places for such work, probably because the sea served as a fence, the herdsman, whites and Indians, living there in solitary huts, and the owners going there in all sorts of weather in questionable boats, and faring on board and on horseback with their servants. Bad crops in a bad season, with no reserve of food, with their base of supplies in England or the West Indies, and these hampered by hostile Dutch or French fleets and the dangers of winter passage, not only kept the larder lean, but came often close to starvation. Their letters miscarried or came late, and their goods also. From Hartford to Boston was a long journey, before which prayers were said, and in which horses were worn out and carriage was expensive; and the coasting-vessels around Cape Cod often fell into mishap, or put back. Women waited all the season for calicoes which did not come, and went

into the winter without woollens, shoes, or sugar for their household, while meat ran low; and of wheat, not to mention Indian corn, there was often actual dearth. They sent one another a shirt, a cravat, a pair of stout shoes, stockings, a little spice, a few raisins, and still fewer oranges, medicines, salves, as a great mercy. A. Winthrop had often a deal of trouble to find for himself or brother an honest leather belt, cloth for a coat, a white hat, or a periwig; and many of these letters are full of such trifles, showing the dearth. Wait Winthrop of Boston begs of his brother of Connecticut to send him tallow for candles, and on one occasion tells him that if he comes on he will be obliged to sit in the dark for lack of them. They even made tallow from the barberry-bush, of green color and sweet odor; and in one case complaint is made that there was so much straw in their makeup that they were good for nothing. "Your candles were so intimately mixed with straw and joined together that they were good for little." "Carter has sold your punch bowl," Wait writes to Fitz-John, "and Mears has not sent your hat." Occasionally something finer goes, — a few bottles of white wine and claret, a small cask of brandy. Upon one occasion Roger Williams sends the wife of Governor Winthrop of Connecticut a basket of chestnuts, and say he will send more if she likes. Under date of June 22, 1680, Wait Winthrop writes to his brother Fitz-John from Boston: "Here is neither wash bales nor sweet powder to be had. I use starch, sprinkled with a little rose water, and so dried

can chill, and after his introduction as a stranger he is apt to remain a fast friend. Indeed, one is apt to feel, when one begins to read a Winthrop letter, especially if addressed to a lady, as if he ought to stand hat in hand before the high-bred courtesy which is sure to be therein.

The Puritan had three great enemies to contend with in his struggle for physical existence ; viz., the wilderness, the Indians, backed often by the French, and wild creatures. It was the fate of the Puritan to be always in strife with something. The stress which the Indians laid on him is told elsewhere. His struggle with wild creatures, if thoroughly told, would form a very amusing as well as picturesque chapter of our history. To say that the Puritan who had not been afraid to face Prince Rupert and his Cavaliers was often in danger of being overmastered and put to flight by a flock of blackbirds or vermin that burrowed in holes, would perhaps excite surprise. But the fact is, that the loss this way to New England folk was, of old, something appalling. With their flocks never safe from wolves or bears, nor their crops from predatory birds, multiplying by aid of the very corn they plundered, it was not the least of our forefathers' tasks to destroy these enemies. This they did by town and State laws, which they and their boys enforced with traps and guns and by bounties. How much a dozen for blackbirds' heads ? was a very grave question in many a town meeting, and there are those living who have seen the bounties paid. The selectmen always buried the heads, and

kept strict watch over the grave, to keep back Yankee thrift from robbing the town treasury by reiterated resurrections of the same. Specific bounties for different creatures prevailed. In one place this was the tariff. A wolf's head hung on a tree by the meeting-house brought the killer 10s. Bounties: 1s. a dozen blackbirds; 2s. a dozen woodpeckers and jays; 3s. per dozen for crows. .

An exception should be made in favor of the larger seaports in this delineation of the narrow and stinted life of our Puritan ancestors. Narrow, and to a degree sordid, in its circumstance that life certainly was; but the world was then *en voyage*; and as the laws against vagabonds permitted, visitors — seamen in ships, traders, and a few wayfarers of polyglot nationality — came to Boston, and fared according to the custom of the place, introducing their sins and their wines to a limited extent to the palate of human nature as they best could. Boston men traded with the West Indies, especially the Bermudas; with Bilboa in Spain, sending salt fish for fast days; with England, and with the French colonies in America, and the Southern colonies. Sewall's Diary shows that he and the leading men of his time interested themselves with the world's affairs as far East as the Turk, and grasped eagerly at even rumors that came late across seas, of changing dynasties, and the fate of wars on the seas or the Continent. But with this abatement, the fact must stand that the early days of the New England Puritans were those of emigrants. Their Exodus had brought them to a land

where the heathen raged, and the ungodly imagined vain things. They realized that it was the Land of Promise, but chiefly through the eye of prophecy, while the Holy City of Jerusalem, whose foundation stones they wrought at, as they would judge if they were now on earth, is not yet built. It would be untrue to say that these emigrants were mere religious fanatics ; or to say that they were knights without reproach. False history is a most expensive luxury, not only because it poisons the fountains of philosophy for posterity, but because it costs a deal of honest writing to disprove its lies. It is perhaps enough to say of them that they wrought mightily for man in that wild, aspiring drift of Protestantism, whose outcome in politics as well as religion neither they nor their posterity were able to comprehend.

What they thought of their own fortunes here is well stated (1708) by old Schoolmaster Chiever on his deathbed, referring to the Puritan hardships : "The afflictions of God's people, God did by them as a goldsmith ; knock, knock, knock ; knock, knock, knock to finish the plate : it was to perfect them, not to punish them."

CHAPTER IV.

SEWALL AND THE PURITAN CHURCH.

"The Puritans were the servants of posterity to endure the sowing of a nation in a wild—to break the ice that others might drink the living waters."

"New England civilization, like its soil, has a granite base, but a deep and sturdy loam on top, to last for ages."

"The entire man, so to speak, is to be seen in the cradle of the child. So it is with nations."

DE TOCQUEVILLE.

"The civilization of New England has been like a beacon lit upon a hill which after it has diffused its warmth around, tinges the distant horizon with its glow."

DE TOCQUEVILLE.

APOLOGY should perhaps be made for the risk which this chapter must undergo of dulness. Heretofore some things have been said of Puritanism as a mysterious evolution among Englishmen; now some things as to how it fared when it set up its own house in New England. For with its old roots it raises here old problems in their new environment.

It can hardly be reiterated too often that Puritanism was an antithesis, a protest, a revolt in time against the old religions of Romanism and Anglicanism. The key to this revolt is to be looked for among the things from which this revolt was made. It has been often said that Puritanism ran narrow

but deep. All metaphors have in them the danger possibly to mislead. But if we regard truth as globular, a sphere, then certainly Puritanism moved in a tangent of the circle, with a centrifugal force which could not fail to disturb and antagonize. Any truth dislocated or distorted from its relations to Truth becomes error; and thus it happens that while the Puritan movement carried with it truths which the world will not willingly let die, it was destined to such extremes and isolation that England recoiled from its colors in disgust, and it has disappeared, in form at least, from its new home. How and why did Puritanism revolt? From what?

Not hopelessly to involve the answer in dulness, it may be stated, then, that for more than twelve centuries Christendom had held this opinion; to wit, that as God who made man had determined to save him, He had set about it in two revelations, — the Mosaic, which was temporary, and only a type and prophecy of the second; that the second, which we call Christianity, was the final and permanent economy in the salvation of the human race; that the heart of it, its stock and root, was an incarnation of the Divine in the human; that this Incarnation of God through a human virgin introduces and maintains in the circle and sphere of humanity the constant and immanent activity of God in man's behalf; that this incarnate God, — thus once and for all time, visibly come on earth, — did, by His own will and grace, elect to remain on earth, visible and forever present in His church, framed by Him, and vivified

by His indwelling ; that in a mystical way, but truly, this church, visibly composed of men and women, grafted in Him, but yet also a storehouse of ghostly riches, feeds its children with the bread of life, which is, in a most lofty and supernatural sense, Himself ; and that this church, intended for all men, is the one church historic for men, because there cannot be two Christs or Incarnations, but only one. Whatever accretions, forms, ceremonies, or doctrines may have been had or held for twelve centuries, though in an acknowledged constant variation, this theory remained untouched and unquestioned till the Reformation. The question is not raised here as to whether this theory is true or false, nor does that question here concern the philosophy of Puritanism. But it must be noted, even by the logic of Protestantism, affirming private judgment, that what is each man's privilege must be all men's privilege, although they stand together in a corporate society of faith, and that a church of Divine origin must have a governing authority somewhere. As God, so far as the Catholic dogma went and human salvation required, dwelt in His church, that authority must also reside there. And as God apparently on earth must speak and act through His own human organism so created, human creatures and governors must be His mouth-piece.

When we consider, also, that the old faith held God to be forever the director of His own, it does not look strange that Churchmen held that a great solemn assembly of their chiefs, which they called

a General Council, was the voice of God, and to be obeyed. Here is the logical development of the doctrine of church authority. From this authority, extant and enforced so long, all Protestantism revolted, and for reasons which satisfied at least itself. It was a specific revolt against a specific form of Christianity. But then there must be authority, which is government, somewhere, unless Christendom was to turn to chaos. But where? Since back of all question of authority lay the new but root Protestant idea of the dignity and privilege of the individual man, this idea added itself to the necessity of change, if change must come, and declared the individual conscience to be supreme authority in religion. It does not matter that this idea was never fully realized even among the Puritans, as Roger Williams and the Quakers show, simply because the theory was so transcendental as to be impossible. The right of private judgment was, and remains, one of the root ideas of logical Protestantism. Puritanism in England or here never revolted from much of the old theology. It believed in man's perdition or salvation, as he disobeyed or obeyed God's will; in the Mosaic Dispensation, in the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Trinity, the grace of God, the future life, very much as the old church did. Even in its dogma of the supreme authority of the Bible, it only taught what the Catholic Church has always held and holds; only that church claims to be that supreme court of judicature, to interpret the meaning of that author-

ity, — a task which Protestantism relegates to the individual.

Again, the early Puritan found himself in at least the only visible institution in the West which called itself a church. If he left that church, there was no other to go to unless he made one. Nothing was more natural than that the man who held himself able to interpret the oracles of God should build the church of God. This, accordingly, he proceeded to do. But as before he did it that church was not, and invisible to boot, that idea of an invisible church, so rife to-day with Protestants, sprang up and throve. George Fox, the Quaker, applied the caustic to that theory when he held that, as a believer and regenerate man, he carried about the whole Christ under his waistcoat, in his heart, and fed on Him and was fed by Him there he had no need of any sacrament or outward sign to part or impart the Christ in morsels. In due time, having first been rid of Roman rule, the Puritan found himself confronting the Church of England. But that church, rightly or wrongly, has always held that it was a part of the Catholic Church; that it was not a new church of the Reformation, any more than an old house swept becomes a new or another house; that it had preserved, and intended to preserve, all those signs or notes by which the Catholic Church verifies itself, especially the three notes of orders, creeds, and sacraments; and that it never could or would conform to Rome or Geneva; and that, on the Genevan basis, it would

cease to be the Catholic Church in England. True, for three hundred years and now, many in the Church of England have denied the theory and the claim. No church, perhaps, has been more rent or more betrayed; but if, at the Puritan asking, this church refused assent, and had not the reason of self-preservation to allege, it certainly committed a deadly sin against charity; and if any one mistakes incessant clamors in that church to-day as signs of any return to Puritan methods, or any one should proceed to touch its "notes" of Catholicity, the flame of its resistance would either consume itself or its foe. It should never be forgot that compliance by the Church of England with the Puritan demands would, as its dominant conscience then held and holds, have been simply suicide.

Now, then, we are in condition to understand the mooted question whether the New England Puritans were Nonconformists, as they called themselves, — i.e., people who refused merely the forms, — or Separatists, — i.e., men who had broken entirely from the Church of England, — as they denied they were. They were simply Separatists, because their root ideas touched the very vitals of the Anglican system, and, so far as they prevailed, destroyed it, root and branch. The irony of history is seldom more bitter than when it tells us that these non-conforming Puritans of New England, professing their affection for the Church of England, when that church came here with Sir Edmund Andros, treated it as outcast and felon against their civilization.

Yet one would greatly err who should say that there was any taint of hypocrisy in such men as Winthrop and Higginson when they wept over and professed their love for the Church of England. Not simply that they had been worshippers in its parish churches, where they had often heard their own beloved doctrines from men of the Puritan stamp, but because they did assent to and love much of doctrine which the Church of England held and holds in common with most Christians. What they did not love was that other part of doctrine which they asked the Church of England to give up, and which it retains till now, as necessary to its existence as a part of the historic church of God. The Puritan heart loved the Lord Jesus Christ of the Prayer Book, but its head hated the Communion office as Roman, and the office of Institution of the Priesthood as an insult to their own ministry. They honestly called themselves Nonconformists; but they were, by the resistless tide of their own logic and the assent of the root ideas of the Church of England, Separatists.

By their Charter — a very liberal and friendly one, with certain specified and guaranteed privileges — the Puritans of New England remained under English law. That this was so, at least in the judgment of English lawyers, is plain from the fact that the Charter was finally revoked on the ground that they had violated the laws of the realm; and the colonies then passed into a province, under a very different code, imposed by the Crown authorities. This, at

least theoretical position, should be kept in mind when we look at the Puritan methods in establishing their church. To a degree only, their way of church establishment was logical. It was logical that each Puritan should stand upon his rights of conscience to interpret God and serve Him; it was logic for the Puritan to agree with his fellows to make common terms with God in a covenant wherein all embraced, agreed; it was logic to rest all authority in the Bible, and to interpret that Bible into laws in church and state for themselves. But it was neither logical nor Protestant then or now for them to impose their conduct as a rule for any other man's faith or behavior; to punish men by refusing them citizenship because they were not church-members; in other words, to make themselves, either by synod or any other form of clerical or lay association, church authority for dissenters when they themselves had flouted the old authority and stood against the Church of England for the free exercise of conscience by every Puritan. Very likely the Puritan here could not have done any differently. The trouble was in his premises, — which time has shown to be impossible of acceptance by the average human being. The realm of the Puritan enthusiasm lay too far above the specific gravity of mankind on its religious side, to be elsewhere than in the clouds; and by consequence, from the start the unregenerate throve in numbers, and very shortly became the majority in a commonwealth which was always alien to them.

It was people like Roger Williams, Ann Hutchinson, and the Quakers who speedily reduced the Puritan position to its logical dilemma, if not absurdity.

Roger Williams actually refused to pray with his wife, or join in grace with her at table, because she still attended the Puritan public worship ; so intense was his individualism.

He and the rest at Providence made a law that no man was to be hurt for his conscience. In course of time the women and children had the habit of going to meetings, in public or private houses, every day in the week, if there were so many. A certain man forbade his wife to go. The town undertook to censure him for it. It was argued for the offender that the law was never meant to break down God's ordinance, which called for the wife's obedience to her husband ; and against him, that if the townsfolk should thus restrain their wives the country would cry out on them. Now, unless the law had limit, no man was to be hurt for forbidding, upon his conscience, his wife to anything ; and unless his wife was held to have no conscience, it is hard to see how the law could punish her if, upon her conscience, she refused him in everything. So hard is it for even pious people to live in the air. There is no record of the upshot of this matter, but even the timid may be bold to believe that the women went their own way, as usual.

The Puritan church developed itself along the line of this individualism until it dominated the individual with its majorities, and forced its minorities to a

minute and definite obedience, compared with which the Catholic rule had been license. Nowhere on the face of the round globe have men ever been so directed, inspected, and limited in a voluntary submission to public form and the general mind as here. In the churches the rule of the congregation was in theory supreme; but in due time church synods like those at Cambridge and Saybrook tended to mar this independency and impose their own decisions. But, however governed, logically the Puritan meeting-house from the start took precedence of the trading-house and the state house. The first meeting-houses were very like barns, and have all disappeared. Their successors were also of wood, very much like the one at Hingham, and are also mostly gone. The third crop of houses, at least in cities, was of increased dignity, as in the case of the Old South Meeting-House, Boston, still extant, and apparently of a Dutch type of architecture, while those of to-day assume multiform phases of heathen or mediæval architecture, both of which at the start the Puritans abjured. All was in sharp antithesis to most of the current ecclesiastical architecture of the times across seas, and a protest against æsthetics in religion.

But, however built, these houses, especially in the country, were the centres of affairs. In some towns people were forbid to dwell more than a mile from meeting; the houses were often fortified with palisades, and sometimes a ditch. Here on the green auctions were held; wolves' heads were nailed up; publishments of intended marriages were posted;

town meetings, in absence of any other town house, were held; and on Sunday the scattered townsfolk gathered to hear the gospel and the news. Care was taken by the authorities that a meeting-house should be built wherever white men went, and that a parson should be fed.

The Puritan parson was often the only man in the place liberally educated. According to the times he was a gentleman, of very positive character, often acting as both lawyer and physician to his flock, a man of faculty, and a general promoter of the public good. A reverence attended him which it is hard in these days to understand; and in most cases it was deserved. Town privileges and glebe lands were assigned to the clergy, and they were the chief conservators of civilization among their flock.

Rev. James Keith settled at Bridgewater, 1664, had a double house-lot, twelve acres, with a house on it, and £40 salary, one-half to be paid in Boston. In 1667 thirty cords of wood were added yearly. This gives probably a fair view of the temporalities of the clergy in those days.

The church services were long, the sermon sometimes lasting a couple of hours, and the chief prayer half as long; there were no organs or musical instruments to assist the music, which was led by a precentor, and the tune was usually one of four, York and St. David's being two. The chief persons sat in the foreseat near the pulpit, and the rest as they were ordered by "the seating committee," — boys and negroes in the galleries. At an early date tith-

ing-men with long rods came into fashion, who kept the gallery youngsters quiet.

The custom was for all the people standing to wait till the ministers, whom they faced, passed down the aisle out of the meeting-house. Sewall notes: "The Governor Dudley turned to talk with Col. Townshend; so his back was upon the ministers as they went out."

A Plymouth deaconess sat in a convenient place in the meeting-house with a birch rod in her hand to awe little children into due propriety. The old writers say "she honored her place, and was an ornament to the congregation."

A deal has been said of the grotesque nature of some of the Puritan prayers, and the very odd things which were often prayed for. This state of things was aggravated in New England by the custom of sending up notes for the prayers of the congregation for voyages, births, sorrows, afflictions, and bereavements. When thanks were given for mercies received, the petitioner rose in his pew. The free Puritan prayers were for deliverance from Indian assaults, foreign interference, plagues, murrain, failure of crops, storms and earthquakes, and changes in the government at home. Indeed, everything that interested them they prayed over, first or last. Assuming that the Christian theory of prayer is valid, it is hard to see why all this was not logical, since there is nothing either great or small to Him who hears prayers, and a man might as properly pray for a sick horse as for the conversion of the heathen.

The Scotch, in their large declaration, 1637, begin

their petition against the Book of Common Prayer in this most democratic fashion : "We, men, women, and children and servants, having considered," etc.

Yet some of the Puritan prayers, both sides of the water, could only befit privy councillors of God, who had at all times the run of His palace. One said : —

"O, my good Lord God I hear the king hath set up his standard at York against the Parliament and the city of London. Look thou upon them, take their cause into thine own hand; appear thou in the cause of thy saints, the cause in hand. It is thy cause, Lord. We know that the king is misled, deluded and deceived by his Popish, Arminian and temporizing, rebellious malignant faction and party."

"They would," says Dr. Echard, "in their prayers and sermons tell God that they would be willing to be at any charge and trouble for him, and do any kindness, as it were, for the Lord; the Lord might now trust them and rely upon them, they should not fail him; they should not be unmindful of his business; his works should not stand still, nor his designs be neglected. They must needs say that they had formerly received some favors from God, and have been as it were beholden to the Almighty; but they did not much question but they should find some opportunity of making some amends for the many good things and civilities which they had received from him. Indeed, as for those who are weak in the Faith and are yet but babes in Christ, it is fit that they should keep at some distance from Christ, should kneel before him and stand (as one may say) cap in hand to the Almighty; but as to those who are strong in

all Gifts and grown up in all grace and are come to a fulness and ripeness in the Lord Jesus, it is comely enough to take a great chair and sit at the end of the table and with their cock'd hats on their heads to say, 'God, we thought it not amiss to call upon thee this evening and let thee know how affairs stand. We have been very watchful since we were last with thee and they are in a very hopeful condition. We hope that thou wilt not forget us; for we are very thoughtful of thy concerns. We do somewhat long to hear from thee and if thou pleasest to give us such a thing as Victory we shall be (as one may say) good to thee in something else when it lies in our way.' "

Mr. Vines, in St. Clement's Church, London, used these words: "O Lord, thou hast never given us a victory this long while for all our frequent fasting. What dost thou mean, O Lord, to fling into a ditch and there to leave us." One Robinson at Southampton (1642) prayed thus: "O God, O God, many are the hands lift up against us, but there is one God, it is thou thyself, O Father, who does us more mischief than they all." "Gather upon God," said another in a Fast sermon before the Commons, "and hold him to it as Jacob did; press him with his precepts, with his promises, with his hand, with his seal, with his oath; that is, if I may speak it reverently enough, put the Lord out of countenance; put him, as you would say, to the blush, unless we be masters of our requests."

Even Sewall shows the same temper when, writing

in 1686 to his uncle, Stephen Dummer, in England, of the attempts made to convert the Indians, he says : —

“As to the design of converting them, we in New England may sorrowfully sing the 127 Psalm: ‘Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it.’ I am persuaded it would be a most acceptable sacrifice to God, importunately to beseech Him to put His hand to that work and not in a great measure to stand and look on.”

But Sewall is prone to a more submissive and filial piety in his prayers. He writes in a time of sickness : —

“The Small Pox is in a pretty many families in town. Hath been and is also a mortal fever of which many have died. I desire your prayers that I may be fitted for the good pleasure of God who alone is able to preserve from what is mentioned and from the Indians, French or any other evil. . . . March 30 1687. We are now, blessed be God, pretty well got over a dry and cold winter. Small Pox is in town but not many die as yet.”

To the Rev. John Higginson he writes (1706) : —

“Let me also entreat your prayers for me and my family, that the blessing of God may rest upon the head of every one in it by reason of the good will of Him who dwelt in the Bush.”

When his son Sam was leaving his business place, because, as it certainly proved, too shiftless to fill it, his good father writes, just after he had been told by a gossip that somebody had called him a knave : —

“The good Lord give me truth in the inward parts and finally give rest unto my dear son and put him into some calling wherein he will accept of him to serve Him. . . . Feb’ 26. I prayed with Sam alone that God would direct our way as to a calling for him.”

"Jany 13, 1696. When I came in past 7 at night my wife met me in the entry and told me Betty had surprised them. It seems Betty Sewall had given some signs of dejection and sorrow; but a little after dinner she burst out into an amazing cry which caused all the family to cry too; Her mother asked the reason; she gave none; at last said she was afraid she should go to hell — her sins were not pardoned. She was first wounded by my reading a sermon of Mr. Norton's about the 5th of Jany. Text John 7.34. Ye shall seek me and shall not find me. And those words in the sermon (John 8.21.) 'ye shall seek me and shall die in your sins' ran in her mind and terrified her greatly. And staying at home Jan' 12 she read out of Mr. Cotton Mather — 'Why hath Satan filled thy heart,' which increased her fear. Her mother asked her whether she prayed. She answered Yes — but feared her prayers were not heard because her sins [were] not pardoned. Mr. Willard [the Sewalls' minister] though sent for timelier, came not till after I came home. He discoursed with Betty who could not give a distinct account, but was confused, as his phrase was, and as he had experienced in himself. He prayed excellently."

"Feb' 22. Betty comes into me almost as soon as I was up and tells me the disquiet she had when waked; told me was afraid she should go to hell, was like Spira, not elected. Asked her what I should pray for, she said that God would pardon her sins and give her a new heart. I answered her fears as well as I could, and prayed with many tears on either part; hope God heard us. I gave her solemnly to God."

"Sabbath May 3. Betty can hardly read her chapter for weeping; tells me she is afraid she is gone back, does not taste that sweetness in reading the Word which once she did; fears that what was once upon her has worn off. I said what I could to her and in the evening prayed with her alone."

The Diary concludes its notice of Betty Sewall's religious "concern of mind" with the last entry. The reader will no doubt see in the affair the deep sincerity of the Puritan mind in what is called con-

The picture stands for thousands of others on that day till now. Certainly such a state no one sneers at; and however aside many in accounting for the mental phenomena, all respect the earnestness of the sorrow, and a to-morrow of peace. This picture of Betty's mind and her father's case certainly antagonizes the vulgar theory that the Puritans were hypo-

May 7, 1696. Col Shrimpton marries his son to his wife's daughter, Elizabeth Richardson. All of the Council in were invited to the wedding and many others. Only I spoken to. As I was glad not to be there because the of the intermarrying of Cousin-Germans is doubted; gives me to be taken up in the lips of talkers and to be a condition that Col Shrimpton shall be under a temptation of himself to wound me; if any should happen Why was not such a one here? The Lord help me not neglect anything that should prevent the dwelling of together in unity. And Oh most bountiful and gracious God who givest liberally and upbraidest not, admit me to bespeak an invitation to the marriage of the Lamb! Thy Grace with me and in me be sufficient for me in making myself ready. And out of thy infinite and unaccountable mercies, place me among those who shall not be left; but be accepted by thee here and taken into glory hereafter. I am beyond conception vile who may say unto thee 'doest thou?' Thou canst justify thyself in thy proceeding. And, O Lord God forgive all my unsuitable deportment table the last Sabbath day, that wedding day; and if be again invited (Invite me once again) help me entirely myself to thy Son as to my most endeared Lord and Father. And let my dear wife and all my children partake in this privilege and that not as *umbras* [probably he means as shadows or echoes of himself] but on their own account."

There must also have been some quaint sermon listened to. A fight between a snake and a mo having been seen at Watertown, Mr. Wilson of Boston, a very sincere and holy man, showed in his sermon how the snake was the Devil and the mo a poor contemptible people (the Puritans) which C had brought here to overcome Satan and dispossess him of his kingdom.

Nor was there always lacking to the austerity of Puritan worship a certain grim mother-wit, which on occasion made itself heard.

A Puritan minister was preaching to a fishing congregation in Plymouth Colony. He besought them to set a good example, because they came out to convert the world to Christianity, when one of the congregation interrupted him with, "Sir, that is well the people of the Bay came out for ; but we came to catch fish."

The Puritan Sabbath in all its colors was Hebrew and ascetic. It began at sunset on Saturday, and ended at sunset on Sunday. In the old religion Sunday was a feast day ; they made it a fast, probably following their usual rule to adopt the exact opposite practice from that which prevailed in alien churches. In this, excepting the Scotch, they were singular among Protestants. Even Calvin at Geneva, when he ruled with a rod of iron, allowed games and pastimes after the morning service. But the Puritans were the first and only ones to vie with the Moslems in causing all lightheartedness to cease from the day. All work, travel, unnecessary or avoidable

absence from public worship, was punished by fine or the whipping-post. Strict public watch was kept for delinquents. In the home, silence and Scripture prevailed. The social life, austere at the best, was clouded with the thick darkness of an imposed solemnity worse than solitary confinement in a cave or closet; and this custom of Sabbath-keeping, while so much of Puritanism has ceased, continues in a modified form in many quarters to this day. Sewall was a strict observer of this fast, and is always urgent for the strict enforcement of the Sabbath laws. He notes in his Diary when a warship fires guns coming up the harbor, or when there is a bustle of soldiers escorting a royal governor on the Sabbath; as a magistrate, he is on the alert to stop all carousing Saturday nights, and bids a cooper hammering at his barrels, a trifle late, to give over. There is a characteristic entry in his Diary, Nov. 18, 1709:—

“Capt Teat by his letter desires a license of the Governor to work on his ship on the Lords Day; the ship was on the ground and feared he should be nipped. Governor argued hard for it; Captain was judge of the necessity. I argued against it; he had time enough before, and had time enough to come before the sailing of the Mast Fleet. At last the Governor collected the voices and said it was carried by one; when I was asked I said, I am dissatisfied, he ought not to be licensed.”

Feb. 5, 1703, Sewall, with other Puritans, rode out to Roxbury—

“on purpose to speak to the Governor against having illuminations, especially in the town house; that so the profanation of the Sabbath [i.e., Saturday night] might be prevented. I said

twould be most for the honor of God and that would be, most for the honor and safety of Queen Anne. Governor said twould be hard for him to forbid it, considering how good the Queen was, what successes God had given her. Feby 6. between eight and nine all the bells begin to ring to celebrate Queen Anne's birthday, being the last of the week. . . . Feb 11. The Governor under his hand remits the fines of several sentenced to pay 5s. apiece for drinking at Mrs. Monk's on Saturday night last about 9 o'clock. I had warned Mrs. Monk an hour before."

The governor here interfered to remit the fine of men who were drinking their queen's health in an orderly manner, at a licensed inn, at a sober hour. Yet this was a part of the British realm, and supposed to be under the protection of English law, as it was certainly under the protection of the English arms. Can the anomaly of the Puritan rule here on its political side be more sharply stated than in an incident like this?

An examination of the colonial laws will show that the Puritans intended to enforce their religion with industry and exactly, and did so. For certain heresies, such as denying the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, or Sabbath-keeping, or infant baptism, or the authority of magistrates, or even more subtle problems of Christianity, the penalty was banishment. They whipped, branded, banished, and hung dissenters from their dogma, and the abler of them were foremost in enforcing punishment. When Sewall came on the stage the day of the great heresies of Mrs. Hutchinson and the Quakers had mostly passed, though more were coming. Yet Sewall shows that he would have hung as well as

the rest. He votes against allowing the Quakers, who petition, to fence in the graves of their fellow-Christians on Boston Common who had been hung as martyrs.

The fine gold of Puritanism had begun to grow dim before the first fathers were in their graves. Fever is neither normal nor long-lived in man. The Puritan ecstasy cooled in the chill atmosphere of that human nature which, though sometimes climbing the hills, usually abides at a lower level of religious and political mediocrity. The form which was temporal passed; the essential became an atmosphere which still abides and thrives. The sun sets, but its heat remains in its absence. The Puritan religion was impossible to man; but its root ideas of the privilege of man as against the claim and usurpation of the old ecclesiasticism will in time force acceptance from those very churches which, in the seventeenth century, refused assent. The Puritan crossed the line of his own logic; failed to see his own drift, — in fact, was in a tide which he did not and could not resist; wrought according to his light, and vanished. The Puritan long since went out, but his light remains. His box might not be of alabaster, but its treasure will last as long as the story of the woman who poured the precious ointment upon her Master's head as He sat at meat.

CHAPTER V.

SEWALL AND THE PURITAN COMMONWEALTH.

“The book of ‘the Prince’ is closed forever as a state manual; and the book of ‘the people’ — a book perhaps of darker sophistries and more pressing tyranny — is as yet unwritten.”

“Men are not corrupted by the exercise of power or debased by the habit of obedience; but by the exercise of a power which they believe to be illegal, and by obedience to a rule which they believe to be usurped and illegal.”

DE TOCQUEVILLE.

“’Tis better to have tried and failed
Than never to have tried at all.”

IN the political economy of Puritanism the state existed for the church, not the church for the state. Religion was first, not politics. The logic of all vital Protestantism is towards democracy, and only that subordination or restraint of the individual in a well-ordered state which is for the necessary good of all. Yet the Puritan rule in New England did not reach so far, but stopped short at a theocracy, — a government in which God is the distinct head and fountain of law. Now, if the Puritan had been exactly at one with God, His infallible mouthpiece and chief justice (as he was not), then the Puritan commonwealth would have been a complete and satisfactory theocracy, both in theory and practice. But exactly so far as he missed and mistook his own

decisions for God's, and imposed them as law upon other men, his government became an oligarchy. Indeed, that was the real quality of government here so long as the church-members governed the majority outside their church, who had no vote. The Puritan, therefore, was never a democrat. In 1636 Rev. John Cotton wrote to Lord Say and Seal a very clear statement of what sort of government was intended. He says: "Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government either for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarchy and aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved and directed in Scripture, yet so as referreth the sovereignty to Himself and setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best form of government in the commonwealth as in the church." The Puritans intensified classes among themselves much more than we do. Not only were ladies set in the foreseat and a carpenter's wife in the back, but the common people themselves accepted the situation.

There was a meeting of the church and congregation at the South Church, Oct. 3, 1707, their pastor, Mr. Willard, having just died; and Sewall writes: "It was very thin, several came not because Mr. Pemberton '[the officiating minister]' said, *Gentlemen*, of the church and congregation; affirmed they were not gentlemen and therefore they were not warned to come." Adjourned.

The Puritans found the constitution of their alleged theocracy in the Jewish Scriptures. As to the ques-

tion why they did not go to the Christian Scriptures instead, a double answer may properly be given; viz., that in the Holy Oracles of the apostles' age there were no formularies of government such as seen in the Mosaic code, and that the Old Testament in general being a history of other men's affairs in many ages, it was there other men might find the richest fund of counsel when they came to administer their own. Their general conception of the place which the Bible should occupy in human affairs is well stated in their own words: —

“The whole Council of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, Man's salvation, faith and life is either expressly set down in Scripture or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture. Unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit or traditions of men.”

It was inevitable that these New England Lollards (if such a phrase may be ventured on to remind the reader that the Puritan on all sides of him — in religion, politics, and social life — was the child and offspring of a profound and ancient movement which drove him on to his destiny, and still thrives in the world) should take God's word for the constitution of his commonwealth. It is hard to see where they could have discovered any other; and in inventing one, this sacred monad and individual — this Puritan — for whom Christ died and the whole creation groaned in sympathy, might not be able to agree with his next-door neighbor, — a cobbler, may be, of old shoes on earth, but a king and priest in that near-

ing world in which he was to live forever as a covenanted citizen. It should be only noticed that he who had refused as against his conscience to listen to the ancient church interpreting Scripture, was now forced to interpret for himself, and imposed his interpretation on the rest, — on at least all aliens.

The first result of this attempt to establish and maintain his impossible creed was not exactly a reign of terror, but a government full of severity and hardship. The Puritan himself suffered with the rest; and the New England life became granitic, and vexed by harsh restraints and unreasonable demands. Human nature, thus challenged and irritated, revenged itself by a constant, if often silent, protest. Under harsh laws even the most unmentionable crimes and the fiercest passions revealed themselves to an extent, considering the population, hardly realized to-day. The wicked people, if not many, were very wicked, although environed with the Puritan piety. All suffered, and the saints not least.

In their unique selection of the Mosaic code for their own civil constitution lies perhaps the explanation of the actual status of the Puritan clergy in their commonwealth. For nothing was more reasonable to be believed than that if the Mosaic code was to be the common law of the land, then that class of men who were best versed in it were certainly the best interpreters of it. As a matter of fact, the Puritan clergy, not only as admirably educated, but as professional men, were best fitted to expound and apply the same to current events in the common-

wealth. They were, in fact, not so much by appointment as from the nature of things, a supreme court of judicature, to decide what the laws should be or the Scripture meant. The colonial statute book abounds in Scripture texts in the nature of precedents to ratify and affirm the statute; and in inscribing these laws it was directed that wide margins should be left to insert these texts. From this point of view we may regard the mooted question whether the Puritan clergy were sinners above all who dwelt at Jerusalem; whether, in short, they were the head tyrants in their commonwealth. Certainly any law resting not on justice, but on force, if enforced, is tyranny. The Puritans had many such laws, and the logical conclusion stands against their fame. But this tyranny was not irregular, not personal, but formal and legal. It was a part of the situation; and the Puritan in general is more entitled to the sympathy of history than its blame. The clergy could not escape the necessity of expounding their theocratic code, and, in fact, were often invited by the magistrates to do so. If they had not done so, the state would have gone very close to being compelled to change its constitution. But in fact the clergy were willing to do so, as being as much a part of their duty to their religion and their government as it was to baptize a child, or pray protection from smallpox or the Indians. Human nature is seldom transfigured even in a parson; and the Puritan parson was always a man, and sometimes a very meddling and mischievous one. Increase and Cotton Mather,

; bold men as ever filled a pulpit, and leaders in their own order, were no saints, even when they brought the hardest for the common weal; but their New England would not have fared so well without them. But, with these limitations, there are few facts more firmly established as a part of our history than that the Puritan clergy here were no tyrants over the laity, nor pre-eminent tyrants among them. They had their power, beyond their calling, inasmuch as they represented the laity of their church. It is incredible to most students of our colonial annals, that if at any time the clergy had given a decision against the conscience of their laity, that the latter would not have stood against them and controlled them. Instances, indeed, of individuals are not wanting where this was done, as, for instance, in the case of Rev. John Cotton and the Antinomian wrangle. To hold that this handful of men, face to face with magistrates as able as Winthrop, the elder Dudley, Stoughton, and a host of others, could or did control the public will to the clerical pleasure is irrational, and can never be maintained in the forum of history.

What they actually did was to aid the land where they had come with such counsel as they had, when it was needed, and sometimes when it was even demanded by the civil authorities as a duty inherent in their pastoral office which they could not and would not avoid.

Two cardinal necessities imposed themselves upon the Puritans, involved as they were in a vast material enterprise; to wit, to subdue a wild to a field, where

the wild was a continent : (1) It was necessary to maintain spiritual vitality enough to mould and saturate the material with the spiritual, and not suffer the calamity of a reverse process, as the Spaniards in South America had, since no vital civilization was ever wrought out by muscle alone, by whole men of brain and soul, with these gone into it ; (2) It was necessary, inasmuch as they dwelt so far from social customs and the wonted forms of law, that on the frontier of barbarism, with all human ties working themselves loose, stringent laws should be enforced rigorously. To the first necessity the New England Puritan answered with his church ; to the second, with his commonwealth.

In this way we may approach the mooted question as to whether we should praise or blame the Puritans for their treatment of such people as the Quakers, Mrs. Hutchinson, and Roger Williams. Some of these they hung, and the rest they banished ; while the victims all clamored — Williams the loudest, at least in history — that they suffered for conscience' sake. Assuming that they did, what then ? The Puritan suffered much toil and vexation in hanging them or driving them out for his conscience' sake. When the consciences of two sets of people are at strife, the conscience backed by the more robust physique must drive, or at least will try to drive, the other to the wall. Both sides would have done it, and one side did it. It can hardly be repeated too often that the Puritan, when we judge his behavior, is to be judged by the standards of his age, not

ours, unless we insist that he ought to have been a prophet, and seen his duty with our eyes. To say that he was both fallible and peccable is merely to insist on the idle affirmation that he was not God. To pass him by with a jest, — to say, for instance, that after this age has heard so much of the blessings which have flowed from the Pilgrims landing on Plymouth Rock, it is high time to inquire what blessings would have flowed in upon us if Plymouth Rock had landed on the Pilgrims, may be a witticism, but it is surely not the philosophy nor the rectitude of history. The fact is, the Puritan, by an English charter, was put in command here, and was responsible for what went on. He held the helm, and made his voyage. The captain of a ship, by statute law, is made to a degree an autocrat on his quarter-deck, — let us say, to express the dynamics of his command, a tyrant. But if he makes his voyage, and keeps his ship in mid channel on entering port, “his sea words” to the fore-castle, and, to a degree, his violence, are very reasonably condoned to his responsibility and to his proved success. Men are human, burdens are heavy, and human laws at least recognize these facts when men are brought into judgment. To take the case of Roger Williams, one of the most amiable and troublesome of mortals. He chose to come on board the Puritan ship, with the Puritan at the helm and responsible for the voyage, as Williams was not. Assume that Williams brought on board (as he did) his absolute but ideal truth that conscience is and ought to be free, and that the Puritan denied his truth (as

he did), which in the abstract was certainly error, — what then? No man who knows the times but must confess that if any or all these sectaries which Williams represents had had their way, the Puritan commonwealth would have fallen into such general mutiny as would have perilled both the voyage and cargo. It was because the Puritan drove out or hung such men as Williams, with their ill-timed, abstract truths, that he managed to found a civilization which this day gives open-handed freedom of conscience to sixty millions of Americans. “He builded better than he knew” when he punished to preserve; and his works live after him.

The charter — which so far as the English Crown was the fountain of authority to New England as a part of the British realm, was the formal authority under which the Puritan set up his government in Massachusetts Colony — was granted by Charles I. in 1628 to a trading company, according to the ancient custom whereby trading guilds of all sorts had been granted special privileges from time immemorial; as James I. had granted a charter to Plymouth Colony; as a hundred years before the East India Company had been allowed to trade and rule in India; and as some twenty years later the Hudson Bay Company had gained it special rights in the North. But this trading company of Massachusetts Bay chose to transfer its government speedily out of England into the colony itself, and to color its behaviors with the peculiar religion of its members, as no other like corporation ever did. Yet on its secular side the

company remained for a long time a trading company, with a monopoly of furs. To a great degree a religious mission on the part of the adventurers in this mixed undertaking was recognized by the terms of the charter itself. It is formally declared that the authority granted by the charter is on purpose that "the inhabitants there may be so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Savior of mankind and the Christian faith which in our royal intention and the adventurer's free profession is the principle end of this plantation." The emphatic phrase "in our royal intention and the adventurer's free profession" is repeated in the Provincial Charter after given by King William III.

The very fact of this charter, thus given and taken, was itself an assertion that the English Crown claimed sovereignty over the land and the people, and that the latter agreed to the claim in accepting their privileges. The New England Puritans, therefore, from the start professed themselves as subjects of the English Crown. The charter repeatedly affirms it. In the unique position in which they after found themselves so far away from the central government, and with such singular exigencies often arising, and with the generous powers granted by the charter itself, the Puritan rulers, without blame from just history, might sometimes transcend their powers, or be tempted into extravagances in lawmaking incom-

patible with a due respect for the rights of the Crown. But this possibility does not explain their conduct. Man, in contrast with all other animals, is liable to fits of bad logic and contradictory conduct, arising from his complex nature, which they never show. The wolf has the logic of his unvarying appetite. He has tasted lamb; he likes it; therefore, undisturbed of heart or conscience, he eats lamb every time he can. But man finds himself with a double nature, each warring against the other, and is therefore liable to perturbations and vagaries in conduct. To say that the New England Puritan was a conscious rebel from the start, is not true; to say that he was a predestinated rebel from the start, is. Men like Winthrop no doubt intended to be loyal, and were. Even men like Endicott and the elder Dudley must have intended to remain good subjects after their fashion, though the fashion was a poor one. Certainly these men in a seaport town, edged round with savages, and exposed, and even doomed if left to themselves, to Holland, France, and Spain, could never have intended to break from the Crown, even though Endicott cut the cross from the English colors, and Dudley, unlet of Winthrop, would have misled the colony into overt treason. The disturbing cause of those perturbations in the Puritan's political behavior, apart from personal traits, his constant oscillation between obedience and disrespect to his king, was the persistently on-pressing logic of that English Reformation which had made him Puritan. In England itself that Reformation did not leave

English kings at peace, nor always on their thrones. Was the Puritan of New England, urged on by his heredity of personal liberty and individual dignity, less loyal than the men who from that age till now have dethroned or changed kings, destroyed rotten boroughs, brought in the Corn Laws in a furious protest against feudalism, opened Oxford and Cambridge to dissenters, and in general insisted, according to the compact and logic of the Renaissance, that man should come by his own? It is idle to stand after the event and cry out that the men before the event foresaw it. The Puritans were not a family of prophets, but a society of fallible but able men who wrought at the work in hand, and were satisfied with a day's work that showed progress, leaving to tomorrow its own. Our Revolution of 1776 was as natural and inevitable as that the crocus-bulb lifts forth its flower under the returning spring. Yet it is most improbable that the colonial Puritans foresaw that event. It was their staying power which was their real value to the future. They seldom forgot they had a king to dread, yet they ever remembered with joy that they were Puritans and men. The clouds which low down veil the face of the landscape are visible, and through their rift instant glimpses of spaces beyond are possible; but the great air currents overhead, moving resistless to command the storm, are invisible. The Puritan, even when regarding his own movement in time, very often beheld only its clouds.

In the colonial charter traces are found of that

almost universal search for the precious metals which was carried on in new lands. The only tithe or tax which the Crown reserved for itself was one-fifth of all the gold and silver mined; which apparently, and to this day, the laws of geology forbade to be very much. Otherwise, on the part of the Crown, the privileges granted were very generous. The government was placed in the hands of a governor, deputy-governor, and a court of assistants; all, after the first appointment by the king, to be elected by the citizens every year. To this compact body was committed the care of the state and the power of making laws, with the simple proviso that these should not be against the laws of the realm. Substantially by this charter the colonists were left free to manage their affairs, which might be divided into two classes; viz., the affairs of their own people, and the affairs which involved themselves with the dignity and rights of the Crown. Sometimes these rights were in both classes.

The affairs of their own people the government managed with energy and much practical common-sense. They threw off new towns from the common centres of the first ones like Boston, Salem, and Newbury, exactly as fast as their people settled in the wild; and each of these became little municipalities, emphasizing their own local interests and wishes in those town meetings which were so many cradles of independence and statesmanship, narrow in their limits, but very practical and useful to the state. Persons neglecting town meeting in some places

were fined 1s. 6d.; for being late, refusing to answer the roll-call, or leaving the meeting before it closed, 9d. This articulation of the state into the little sovereignties of towns, with its resultant benefits, lies at the basis of American Democracy. Among no people in the world, perhaps, according to their population, have so many persons, for the last three hundred years, engaged in governing as here. Our town records show a little of this work; but the amount of human mind and energy which have gone into managing local affairs, and still continue, is something wonderful. It was the practice in politics of the individualism of Protestantism, and a good example of its capacity to mould men into good citizens. The colonial government insisted on schools and churches wherever they could be had; and nowhere, according to the population, have there been more. They were the first to enroll the militia. They set everybody to do something, while tramps and vagabonds were at a frightful discount. In short, they brought up the people to be industrious, intelligent, religious, thrifty, self-reliant, and created a citizenship more than Spartan in its energy and permanency. Social life and manners here might have been or may be lacking some tenderness or elegance to be found elsewhere, but nowhere was or is there more of the dominancy and mastership which insures economic successes than here.

At first only church-members were citizens; and until a change was made which included all really responsible people in political equality, the Puritans

wrangled bitterly over the matter, which was settled in the interests of a progressive democracy. The sectaries, like the Quakers, gave them some distractions, and in Puritanism it was inevitable that each man should stand stoutly for his own ; but with these exceptions it may be said in general that in the colonial period at least the government and the governed were in assent and harmony. A marked exception to harmony was the case of Sir Harry Vane, of whom Sewall says : —

“He, Henry Vane, worked hard for his election, May 17, 1637. Indeed Mr. Vane seemed to stand so hard for being chosen again, as to endeavor to confound and frustrate the whole business of the election rather than he himself should fail of being chosen” (p. 295).

“There was a great struggle, he being the principal magistrate for managing the election. My father has told me many a time that he and others went on foot from Newbury to Cambridge, Forty miles on purpose to be made free and help to strengthen Gov^r Winthrop’s party. The New English planters were at this time hardly bestead ; being infested by the Pequot Indians and the new opinions, at the same time.”

Of course the floating population, or stray men and women of other religions, cannot be included in the statement. Where the laws of England did not include a difficulty, they made one to cover it ; but in general, especially as to rights of property, the colony may be said to have lived under English law.

It must be said of the Puritans as lawmakers, that their unique blending of religion and politics together often produced singular situations, which, if there had been lawyers (as there were few or none in the earlier days) free to argue a case arising under

them, would have been likely to produce awkward results. For instance, if a certain act had been declared a crime, with a certain penalty affixed to it, and the cited authority for the same had been a passage out of the Pentateuch of Moses, a sharp lawyer might have led the court, owing to the difficulties of time and space, a long journey before it was able to certify to the fact of Moses or the authenticity of his authorship. But they had no such lawyers, and so no dilemma.

The Puritan also sinned against the great natural law of proportion, both in making and enforcing his laws. This is apt to be the case with all enthusiasts, who are apt to push their ideas beyond their legitimate relations, until they border on fanaticism. For instance, their laws against extravagance in dress were as solemnly formulated and as seriously enforced as if it had happened to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. This Puritan tendency to apply what, as Hawthorne says with his customary subtlety of analysis, well "befitted a people amongst whom religion and law were almost identical, and in whose character both were so thoroughly interfused that the mildest and severest acts of public discipline were alike made venerable and awful," appears very often in the colonial statutes.

In the affairs of the Crown the colonial government was less fortunate. They had not been planted three years before bitter complaints were laid against them before the Crown. Complaints continued to be made. Visitors and enemies here reported insub-

ordinations on all hands. Many of their complaints were groundless; but after all allowance, it remains true that the Puritans were often guilty of gross imprudence, considering that they were English subjects. In general this imprudence showed itself in their assuming supreme prerogatives; as of life and death in the doubtful case of the Quakers; in their banishment of English subjects, or forbidding them entrance to their colony; in their tampering with the English laws of trade (a matter always of sensitive interest to a commercial nation like England); in their coining money; and in assuming in public acts the title of commonwealth, though a part of a kingdom. Besides, they ever showed an even fierce desire to be let alone by England. Their agents there at court had much trouble, and did not always follow straight paths in explaining to the English government the ongoings of their principals. Finally, in simple preservation of the Crown authority (4th Charles II.), their charter was "cancelled, vacated, and annihilated," as the record runs, and a new charter, "the Province Charter" as it is called, issued in the reign of William and Mary, 1691.

The new charter, after consolidating Plymouth and Massachusetts into one, abridged the liberties heretofore enjoyed, in favor of the Crown. The election of the chief magistrates was taken from the people, and they were appointed by the Crown:—

"From henceforth forever there shall be one governor; one lieutenant or deputy governor; and one secretary of our said province or territory to be from time to time commissioned by

us, our heirs and successors; and eight and twenty assistants and counsellors to be advising and assisting to the governor of our said province or territory for the time being, as by these presents is hereafter directed and appointed."

It was also ordered by the new charter that once a year a Great and General Court should be elected, two from each town, who should elect the counsellors. Together these formed the government. But the governor could dissolve or adjourn the court, veto its nominations, and, in general, as the king's servant, secure the king's interests, or at least prevent the perilling of them. There was also a very liberal right of appeal allowed from the courts to the Privy Council. An examination of this charter shows that it was intended to carefully provide against the irregularities before complained of, and it certainly seriously limited the old colonial privileges. It was a curb—put on, too, upon the fiery Puritan steed with stern phrases which show the English statesman at Whitehall resolutely bent on restraint. And this, too, in the reign of a man as liberal and Protestant as King William.

It is not intended here to explain how the new charter tended to multiply dissensions between the Crown and its colony. The story is long; and much of it, especially its details, are in Sewall's Diary. But with a rough democracy in the General Court, and a king's appointee in the governor's chair armed with large powers, it will be seen that there was opportunity at least for constant wrangle which would insure a chronic feud. That feud was, and

deepened into the Revolution. There was but one governor popular from the date of the charter until it ceased to operate. Each side held its own with its best. It is shorter to say what was not, than what was, a bone of contention. It was, in fact, a struggle between the old and the new; between the privilege of the king and the privilege of the people; and the future belonged to the people.

The transition period between the old charter and the new was one of extreme anxiety to the colonists, especially in the matter of their real estate, which constituted most of their wealth. Eminent lawyers at the time, and Chief Justice Parsons later on, held that when the colonial charter fell, it carried with it all laws made under it, and all land titles as well. If this were so, no man was sure even of the house he had built, paid for, and lived in. In fact, the whole question of these early land titles from which we derive, so far as theory goes, was and is always in the air. If any one owned the lands, it must have been the Indians; but their occupation of them was peculiar and uncertain. The king claimed the land by the right of discovery and the tacit or explicit agreement of his brother kings. But what claim had an English king to own from the Atlantic to the Pacific between certain lines of latitude? To discover a watch in the street hardly gives any one but the owner a title to it. The Puritans recognized the ownership to be in the Indians, and bought of them in a fair bargain, at least so far as law could insure fair dealing. But they had asked no further title

from the king who claimed ownership, and themselves as subjects. When, therefore, their charter fell, and so far the king's favor with it, it was quite possible that the English courts, had the Crown claimed it, would have declared these Indian titles void in law, and the land reverted to the king. A bad king would have probably done this; but the new charter left their ownership where it was, — untouched.

Sewall himself, especially under the Province Charter, had rare opportunities to see the inside of New England politics; and his Diary abounds in minute and rare bits of intelligence. Besides his high social standing, which brought him in contact with the leaders on both sides, he was a member of the Royal Council of the Province from 1692 to 1725 (thirty-three years), when he declined re-election; and as judge and chief justice all law matters were open to him. He was a Puritan in his politics, but a discreet one. He writes it down: "Great Britain was not habitable to our fathers because the civil government fell upon them unmercifully." In a time when the Provincial courts were changed, and justice, as he probably judged it, in jeopardy from the king, he writes: "So that old Court is like to die and sink in the midst. The Lord be our King and Lord and Law-Giver. Pardon our Court-Sins and sanctify our frequent Deaths."

All the way through, in his Diary, Sewall shows himself, so far as the Crown went, a conformist to what he judged the political necessities of the hour. Puritan he was in church and state, and he took good

care (and it was easy for him) not to allow himself to lose touch with the on-marching but hampered logic of New England institutions. But he was also human, constitutionally prone to peaceful ways, — no radical, having too much sound English flesh and health about him for that, — and perhaps with a settled conviction that, as lives were or might be, he and his fellow-citizens would come by more of their own if they watched and waited an opportunity than if they forced the issue, and stolidly planted their feet in spots where there was no retreat except it cost an overthrow. He might be ready enough to jostle the king, especially when the latter nodded or was busy, but not to try issues with him when seated on the throne and reaching out his sceptre. Sewall remembered his covenant, and wished it immortal; but while he served it his best, he had one eye always open to what the Master of Englishmen at Whitehall might choose to think or command. He was also a rich man, and property is always conservative. He stands stoutly upon equity and his English rights when the old South Church is invaded by the Prayer Book; but when the charter is taken away, and the question is in all quarters whether their land titles have not gone with it, he is but an humble petitioner to the king, and he can only be assured to him, though he is not always so regarded by many as he is by the king. He is out of the country when the king is in, and by a Boston mob, he is not so much respected as by any animosity to the king.

when the news comes out by letter to England he notes it down: "We were surprised with joy." Yet if he had said that on the London Stock Exchange he would probably have gone to the Tower, with a chance of the confiscation of his New England property. He was a good man, but also a wise one in his generation.

The political history of the Puritan commonwealth in New England shows that the American Revolution was not an explosion, but an organic growth whose roots reached back beyond Winthrop and the New England fathers. The English Cabinet in the reign of King George the Third indeed blundered, but less than is often supposed. It was their chief misfortune to be late, as it was the fault of their predecessors to be careless. The reform after the Andros *émeute* did not drive deep enough to cut up the roots of the danger and prepare peace through obedience. Or, more likely, the flame of political Puritanism in this land was too fierce to be quelled either by oil or water.

The exact net results of the Puritan church and commonwealth to this land can never be expressed in any one formula, because Puritanism in our institutions exists both as a form and as an atmosphere. Looking only at the form, however, it is safe to venture this as summary: In this nation so far, in religion Puritanism has been *diminuendo*; in politics, *crescendo*.

CHAPTER VI.

SEWALL AS A BUSINESS MAN.

SEWALL'S early education was at his father's house in Newbury, under charge of his father's minister, Rev. Mr. Parker, who, leaving the pulpit after he became blind, had the courage to support himself by private pupils in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. It has been often noted that the per cent of college men in the colony was large. His life here was that of the wilderness, with a smack of Old English in it; and he probably took his share of the hardship. He graduated at Harvard College in 1671 in a class of eleven, most of whom remained his fast friends during life. In this class there were four Samuels, two Johns, one Isaiah, one Peter, and one Thomas, with only two secular names, William and Edward.

It would be a curious inquiry as to the origin of the Puritan names, and why so many were out of the Bible, and especially the Hebrew Scriptures. That these Hebrew proper names had generally a pious meaning might be one reason; that so, in a sense, their names would thus be written in "the Lamb's Book of Life" might be another; while names like Grace or Mercy carry their own right to be given to women. The cases are not unknown where Puritan

ministers even refused to baptize unless with a Scriptural name. Three years later Sewall took his Master's degree, coming first with the significant thesis, "*An peccatum originale sit et peccatum et poena?*" which may be freely translated "Whether original sin be both sin and its punishment?" The college had now been established some thirty years; and its culture from the start, although hedged in by the general poverty, had been a white flame in the darkness of that wilderness which was with a very definite gravity trying to drag down the Englishmen here to its own level. There had been presidents already, and Rev. Charles Chauncey at Sewall's graduation was at the head. That sweet man of God, President Dunster, whose fault was to have had that charity in dealing with the acrid theological quarrels of his age without which "there is nothing worth," had already departed under a heavy load of obloquy to his Old Colony home, and had there died. Gracious hands had embalmed him in a rude way by filling his coffin with tansy and other herbs; and so he was brought to Cambridge, and buried just across the road from the college where he had so wrought and suffered. Generations after, the inscription on his gravestone having become illegible, the corporation (1845) gave him new funeral honors, and identified the body by these same herbs still retaining their fragrance, very much as when they opened the coffin of Charles V. of Spain the sprigs of thyme were almost as fragrant as when they had been gathered seven ages before in the woods of Yuste.

After graduation, as was usual, he became a Resident Fellow, taking part in teaching and discipline. He was also made keeper of the college library, which, we may be sure, was both small and Puritan. The first entry in his Diary, Dec. 3, 1673, concerns his teaching at Cambridge. Incidentally Sewall gives us little glimpses of college life,—how his hair is cut; that he sends his younger brother's clothes out to wash; borrows money, gives treats, glances at the new brides, and very like at young ladies not yet come to that estate; gets gloves and visits from young men and maids; has his brother bring him from Boston an hourglass and penknife (11s. 3d.); buys beer (4d.), wine (3d.), with 6d. to Onesephoros (a black slave probably), tobacco pipes (3d.), all in honor of the peace just come, very much as young men go on in such places always. Sewall makes no entry as to Commencement expenses. But Judge Lynde writes down these expenses of his son at graduation in 1734:—

“ I paid Mrs. Frances Wardell for William's Commencement things viz a large cake, 4 gall West India Rum at 8s. 6d., 2 neats tongues at 5s.; 4 gallons of Madeira wine at 10s. — all these came to £9. 4. 5.

“ Day before Thanksgiving 1734. I bought and paid for 3 quarters of lamb and 2 quarters of mutton 20s. and turkey and 4 fowls 6s. and bread with cyder for the poor.”

The students and the town boys were at logger-heads, as ever. “ In the evening the townsmen of Cambridge had a meeting and Mr. Gookin and I being sent for went to them. They treated us very

agreed that the school boys should sit no
e students' hinder seat. It was also con-
y us that some sober youths for the pres-
e seated there." He notes a more serious
e college discipline, — that a young man,
blasphemy, after examination by the cor-
l advice had from the lieutenant-governor
ding ministers, was condemned and sen-
diverse punishments; such as being de-
public and private before all, and finally
ipped. The whipping was done in the
culprit on his knees, the president seeing
all done. "Prayer was had before and
e President." Sewall keeps his eyes open
eyond the college. "This day two boys
atertown with the tumbling of a load of
em, on which they rode." Sept. 7 (1674):
t."

as a home visit to Newbury, and his Diary
another place, April 29, how things went
ies on the new farms: "My father having
gs out of order at the little farm, viz fences
nd eaten and rooted up by cattle and hogs
ig a good tenant, the season of the year
ng, resolves and goes and lives there; not-
ig the littleness and unprettiness of the
He returned to Boston, and entered the
ohn Hull, the New England mint-master
ant, whose daughter, Hannah Hull, he
eb. 28, 1676. Of this wife of his youth,
ived with forty-two years, many things are

said by Sewall, but she says nothing. A single letter which her husband preserves in his Letter Book alone remains; but that shows her a matronly, broad-hearted, sensible English woman, and she bore her husband eleven children. Sewall says, "She saw me when I took my degree, and set her affection on me, though I knew nothing of it till after our marriage." (Being a woman, very likely not.) She was an heiress, and brought her husband a powerful family connection; and as Sewall was himself well-bred, the lines from the start had fallen to him in pleasant places. He became and remained a representative Bostonian of the higher rank all his life.

Sewall would naturally seemed destined for the ministry, and had indeed preached on occasion, and was urged by the clergy to ordination and a parish. He tells us that, on one occasion, preaching for his old schoolmaster, Rev. Mr. Parker, "Being afraid to look on the glass, ignorantly and unwillingly I stood two hours and a half." An hourglass stood on the pulpit, which the sexton sometimes turned, while some probably yawned. But his marriage, with his wife's property and the care of his own, seem to have driven him into business, though all his life he shows his theological training and a bias towards the clerical profession. John Hull was now old, and he seems to have turned over his business correspondents to Sewall. Both his Diary and his Letter Book show him very soon exporting and importing with the rest. For, next to God, trade seems to have had most attraction for the thrifty Puritan, and

the bias is strong on his posterity. But commerce then was in a very precarious condition. Pirates swarmed, and, when caught, had short shrift with a rope. Dutch and French enemies made ventures by sea, uncertain and often disastrous. Foreign trade was chiefly to London, Bristol, Bilboa in Spain, and, above all, to the West Indies, where at this time most of the emigrating Europeans had settled. Mackerel stood first as an export; next oil, codfish, shingles, tar, alewives, beaver, and even cranberries. The imports were such as the estate of the colonists allowed, — the usual dry goods of the age, and things which agriculture called for. There is, in Sewall's entries, a large demand for sieves, probably to sift Indian corn and other grains, milk-strainers, cod hooks and lines, salt, shot, nails, tobacco pipes, scythes, knives, needles, lead, chairs, books, oranges, sweet-meats, and chocolate. Nor is Sewall behind his neighbors in looking well to his invoice when it reaches him. "The last cod hooks you sent," he writes, "are complained of as not well seasoned and dear. Several would bend out and come straight and not hold a fish." Again: "Be sure that each bunch contains a dozen [sieve bottoms] for the party I sold the last to complains that sundry held out but eleven." He sometimes handled queer goods, as, for instance, when he writes abroad that he will take a certain legacy in thirty dozen alchemy (some sort of pinchbeck) spoons; forty brass candlesticks; big kettles, not above twenty or twenty-four gallons; and pewter platters, not exceeding eighteen inches over,

basins, and porringers. He keeps an eye on the crops. "English corn usually 2s. 6*d.* now 5*s.* or 5*s.* 6*d.* a bushel. The English harvest is promising though much rye blasted and good for nothing. A strange plague of flies spoils most all our pease; it breeds in them and at last flies away." In 1686 mackerel are quoted at 16*s.* a barrel, and pork at the same price. Here is an order he sends to England: "6 dozen scythes of a pretty long sort with strong flat backs, narrow plates, strong heels, being hard metal; 6 dozen of rubstones [whetstones] 20 dozens of good strong servicable knives with bone, horn and wooden hafts." "Let there be no silk grass in any of these silks," he writes, "but let them be all silk. Let none of these silks exceed 6*s.* pr. yard; as much under as you can." New England people had this help in commerce; they were so far away from London that they paid little attention to the Acts of Trade imposed on other Englishmen, which increased their profits. This was taken notice of to their detriment by the king's government, and after the capture of Quebec in 1759 the Acts were enforced here. There were suspicious and even criminal prosecutions of traders here for selling guns and other things contraband in war to the king's enemies; and the Puritans were sometimes smitten by the very war armaments that greedy and cruel men of their own stock had sold.

Sewall was also a general trader in lands and cattle, as the Winthrops were. Such men bought land in large blocks, and sold out in parcels. Sewall

had land at Martha's Vineyard and the Narragansett country, and, indeed, all over the State; and the care and sale of it took much of his business time and energy. He also appears to have been a good judge of horses. Whether he ever hired Indians to hunt skins for him does not appear; but we know that beaver-skins in his day were almost as precious as gold.

He can also be downright in business, especially if he fears fraud, to his loss. Indeed, the Puritans had a way of playing around a subject in a preamble; but when they come to the point they bring it out with a blow, as of a sledge-hammer. Sewall had consigned goods to a Mr. Higginson, who had after died, leaving the account unsettled. Irritated at the delay, he writes: "Whatever be done with Mr. Higginson's own estate, it is utterly unreasonable that the estates of other men should be buried with him and no account given of them." Here is a letter to a man who had borrowed money of him:—

"Dec. 3^d, 1700. TO MR. JN' WILLIAMS OF BARBADOES.

Sir, I presume the old verse 'If knocking thrice, no one comes go off' is not to be understood of creditors in demanding their just debts. The tenth year is now current since I lent you ten pounds, merely out of respect to you as a stranger and a scholar: you having then met with disappointment by the loss of effects sent for your support. You have written to me that you would not let my kindness rot under the clods of ingratitude. But there has been hitherto *Vox* and *praeterea nihil* [a promise and no pay]. I am come again to knock at your door to enquire if any ingenuity or honor dwell there. Not doubting but if there do I shall reap benefit by it and that you will pay to my order the

money which I sent you gratis July 23^d 1691, of which I have not yet received one penny."

Same date he writes to his correspondents in Barbadoes about Williams : —

"I would intreat you to deal with him effectually in my behalf. Recover the money and remit it to Mr. John Ive, merchant in London for my account."

He has also preserved two dunning letters of his to President Leverett of Harvard College, with whom he had probably ceased to be on terms because of theological differences : —

"TO MR. LEVERETT Dec' 4, 1718.

Revd Sir ;

I have a very considerable account to make up with Mr. Simon Stoddard, Treasurer of the trustees [for evangelizing Indians] and he calls on me to do it. For this end I greatly want the hundred pounds I lent you Aug. 12 1715 which you promised to pay by the Ninth of December next following. I pray you then, that it may be paid at or before the 9th of this inst Dec' without fail."

Reverend Sir ;

I have heard nothing from you since my sending to you the above written. Pray, sir, let the answer now be a speedy performance of your promise which I have under your hand. I find it too burdensome to me to have great accounts lie open and unsettled. . . . It is necessary that they be finished in order to my obtaining an acquittance. *Non respondere est contemnere.*

Sir ; your real friend and most humble Servt,

SAMUEL SEWALL.

BOSTON, Feby 17, 1718.

Besides trade abroad and visiting his plantations, Sewall was a busy man at home. He lived at Cot-

ton Hill on Tremont Street, almost opposite King's Chapel burying-ground, on property once belonging to Sir Harry Vane, and with neighbors of his own rank. The colony records show (1684) :—

“In answer of the petition of Sam' Sewall Esq, humbly showing that his house of wood in Boston, at the hill where the Rev^d John Cotton formerly dwelt, which house is considerably distant from other building and standeth very bleak, he humbly desiring the favor of this court to grant him liberty to build a small porch of wood, about seven foot square, to break off the wind from the fore door of said house, the court grants his request.”

Here and elsewhere on his Boston lots he planted apple, walnut, and shade trees ; probably had a garden and flowers ; pastured sometimes his cows on the Common with his neighbors' ; dug and blasted rocks there for underpinning ; and, in general, was a thrifty family man in the fashion then in vogue. It is a tradition that on one state occasion no less a person than Governor Hancock had these same vagrant cows milked without leave for his guests' breakfast. Bowditch shows how some of the most valuable lots on Beacon Hill gained their boundaries from cow-paths, and their titles from less honest enclosure. Sewall was also appointed master of the public printing-press, 1681, an office he held some three years, printing public and religious documents, and especially the Assembly's Catechism, five hundred copies of which he gave away to the children of his relations. He was made a freeman in 1678, having joined the Old South Church the year before, as a

prerequisite to citizenship. His name also appears as a deputy from Westfield to the General Court in 1683, as his father-in-law, John Hull, had been in 1674, it being the law then that a man might be elected from a town other than that in which he lived. As all this, however, concerns his political life, it will be treated of elsewhere. He of necessity belonged to the Boston Fire Department, the Police and Watch, was obliged to go the rounds with the rest, or hire a man, and was apparently very fond of military life, and was for long a captain in the militia. Indeed, the Puritans insisted that every citizen should take his share of the public burdens, were admirable organizers, set every man to his work, according to his station, and were before their time in making a levy *en masse* into the militia. This is why in all wars they showed such martial ability, and one reason why their colony did not perish as so many others had, especially in the French and Spanish immigrations. Sewall is a fine example of a busy Puritan business man, with an unsmirched record of success.

Yet, to show the uncertainties and vexations of commerce in those days, this incident may be noted. Sewall undertook to send a package of New England books to Sir William Ashurst, the agent of the Province in England. The vessel was taken by a French privateer, and condemned in the West Indies. The books, as of no account, were given to the captain of the vessel, who, on his return to Boston, gave them to Dr. Increase Mather, who, in turn, finding them to

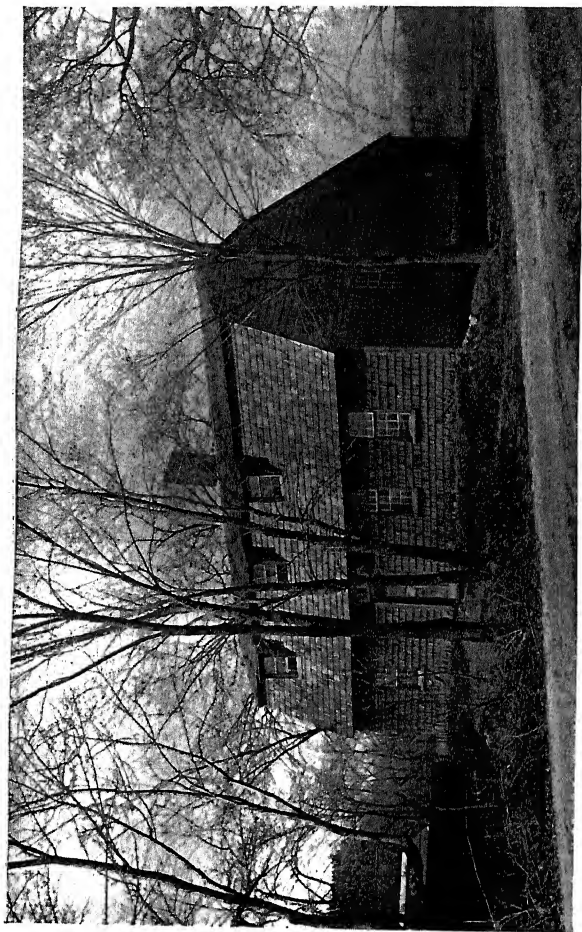
have been once owned by Sewall, returned them, who in a very delicate equity sent them back to Mather, with the very gravely humorous remark, "For aught I know they have had travel enough, and may now properly abide at home."

CHAPTER VII.

TOWN AND COUNTRY LIFE TO 1700.

THE above date is neither exact nor logical so far as it marks any epoch in New England history. The true epoch here is Oct. 23, 1684, when, under Charles II., the English Chancery Court vacated the original charter of Massachusetts Bay, and the colony became a Province, under a very different administration of law. The wide reach of this change will appear farther on. Besides, there had been no break in the life of the people, either for the fifty-four years the charter had lasted, nor for the newer years of our Provincial existence, terminating at the Revolution. The social change, indeed, foreran the political. The Puritan in a drift stronger than his will had wrought at his ideas ; but human nature was stronger, and the logic of his position, little as he knew it, bore him on to what he thought disaster, and what we know to be a better fulfilment of himself than he had as yet attained. So the thread of this old life was continuous, though it showed many and changing dyes. The thread, however, was never broken.

Of course the colonial life now before us was one of vicissitudes, springing from all sources, — foreign and Indian wars, Cromwell's victories and the resto-



AN EARLY STYLE OF NEW ENGLAND ARCHITECTURE.

ratio
abov
make
Purit
to a
Sewa
most
mon
rema
one.
few
color
body
Some
Diary
inten

[16
knocki
taken
Wedne
were e
hill. S
der of I
The we
Mr. M
and tw
gallows
greatest
a tailor
let his
of God
God m
check i

ration of the Stuarts, bad harvests, diseases, fires, and, above all, religious dissensions, which all helped to make up a rather motley whole. Yet the grays of Puritanism always made the picture a sober one, to a degree lacking lustre, but ever showing variety. Sewall's station forced him to see more of this than most, and he writes it down. The life of the common people in the country, as before seen, was, and remains even till now in spots, a stern and Spartan one. It must have been worse at the start. In the few large towns, especially in Boston, life had more colors and juices, always classing by themselves that body of really able men, the country Puritan clergy. Some things quoted and arranged out of Sewall's Diary ought to give us plain impressions of what is intended in the above title : —

[1675.] "A Scotchman and Frenchman kill their master, knocking him in the head as he was taking tobacco. They are taken by hue and cry and condemned. Hanged. April 5, 1676, Wednesday. Gov. Winthrop dies. Sep. 13 [same year]. There were eight Indians shot to death on the Common on Wind-mill hill. Sep. 21. Stephen Gobble of Concord was executed for murder of Indians ; three Indians for firing Eames House and murder. The weather was cloudy and rawly cold, though little or no rain. Mr. Mighill prayed ; four others sat on the gallows, two men and two impudent women, one of whom at least laughed on the gallows as several testified. Nov. 27. about 5 M. Boston's greatest fire broke forth at Mr. Moor's, through the default of a tailorss boy, who rising alone and early to work fell asleep and let his light fire the house. . . . N.B. The house of the man of God, Mr. Mather and God's House were burnt with fire. Yet God mingled mercy and sent a considerable rain which gave check in great measure to the (otherwise) masterless fire. This

"Two persons, one arrayed in white, the other in red, go through the town with naked swords advanced, with a drum attending each of them and a quarter staff, and a great rout following as is usual. It seems 'tis a challenge to be fought at Cap. Wing's next Thursday."

More old English sports. And the redcoats who came with Andros apparently countenanced and urged on such fun. The wicked maypoles, with their festivities, also now came in. Morton's had been cut down years ago at Mount Wollaston, and he driven out. Here is a hint of those darker shades of life, which for evident reasons are quoted sparingly:—

"Nov. 3. Mrs. Anne Williams tells me that an English maid was executed last Thursday at Bristol for murdering her Indian child."

"Sabbath Jany. 22 1688. My Lady Andros was prayed for in public; who has been dangerously ill ever since the last Sabbath. One of a Dutch church in London is admitted to the Lords Supper with us. About the beginning of our afternoon exercise the Lady Andros expires. . . . Friday Feby. 10. Between 4 and 5 I went to the funeral of the Lady Andros having been invited by the Clerk of the South Company. Between 7 and 8 torches illuminating the cloudy air. The corpse was carried into the herse drawn by six horses. The soldiers making a guard from the Governor's house down the prison lane to the South meeting house, there taken out and carried in at the western door and set in the alley before the pulpit, with six mourning women by it. House made light with candles and torches. Was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the house that might not rush in too soon. I went home, where about 9 o'clock I heard the bells toll again for the funeral. It seems Mr. Ratcliffs text was Cry, all flesh is grass. The ministers turned in at Mr. Willards. 'Twas warm thawing weather and the ways extreme dirty. No volley at placing the body in the tomb. On Saturday the mourning cloth of the pulpit is taken off and given to Mr. Willard" [the minister of that parish].

Nothing in Sewall's Diary better shows the grim and bitter aversion of the Puritans to the English church and state than this quotation. It is cold beyond ice, and most significant in its silence. Here was a high-bred English lady, wife of the king's governor, innocent of any politics, a stranger in a strange land, dead and to be buried. Sewall had no doubt often made his bow to her. At any rate, he was a man of high station, nearly always in public office, a suitor to Sir Edmund to have his land titles made valid under the new Charter; a man of undoubted heart and kindness, with a wife and children of his own at home, and many of his own kin dead — and what does he do on this occasion? He would have gone to the grave of his humblest friend from Hampshire, and stayed till the sand was shovelled; but here he goes in a while, — we do not say because absence would have brought him harsh gossip, or perhaps worse, or because he had an eye to funeral pomp in general, and would not miss the show, — and before the minister preaches his sermon, with a fit text, at least, and shorter than the two hours' discourse of Sewall's parson, which he always listens to with decorum to the end, he goes home and busies himself in some gossip about the dirty streets and what became of the mourning cloth. Not a trace of pathos, nor a single religious reflection, in which he easily abounds at other funerals, though this one might in its circumstance have moved a heart of stone, — only the Puritan heart was harder than flint against any who seemed to stand, even remotely, as this dead lady did, against their cause.

The entries grow more significant of the times and the changes they bring : —

“Feb’y. 29. Mr. Giles Masters, the King’s attorney, dies. March 27th. Last night a cold, blustering N. W. wind. Three Indian children, being alone in a wigwam at Muddy River, the wigwam fell on fire, and burnt them so that they all died.”

From November, 1688, to November, 1689, Sewall was out of the country on a visit to England. The record of that visit appears elsewhere. The Home Journal opens with the date of Nov. 22. The Indian massacres at Schenectady and Hampton, with other atrocities of a guerrilla warfare in which the savages are being gradually exterminated, are of frequent mention under date of the new year, 1690.

“May 21, 1690. Mr. Eliot [the missionary] dies about one in the morning. Sabbath July 20. When Mr. Willard was in his first prayer there was a cry of fire which made the people rush out. ’Twas said Mr. Winslow’s chimney was on fire. Just about the same time the house next the old meeting house, the chimney smoked so and beat into the house that made great disturbance there.”

What with their wooden chimneys, and their carrying about pans of live coals, borrowed to kindle some neighbor’s fire, — for there were no matches, and flintstones and tinder were sometimes difficult, — the old-time people in Boston fared hard from fires, and the meetings were often disturbed in consequence.

“Oct. 1691. The Marshal General tells me that above fifty sheep were killed at Cambridge last night having their throats bitten and blood sucked. [Wolves!] Dec. 25. 1691. General Court passes an order for prohibiting Frenchmen being in

the seaports or frontier towns except by license from the Governor and Council; and pass an order for laying a duty on things exported and imported to defray the charge of a guard ship."

All which presages war.

Letter. Mrs. Martha Oakes. Not finding opportunity to speak with you at your house, nor at my own I write to persuade you to be sensible that your striking your daughter in law before me in my house is not justifiable; though twas but a small blow, 'twas not a small fault; especially considering your promise to refrain from speech itself; or at least any that might give disturbance. As for New England it is a cleaner country than ever you were in before and therefore with disdain to call it *filthy* is a sort of blasphemy which by proceeding out of your mouth hath defiled you. I write not this to upbraid, but to admonish you with whom I sympathise under your extraordinary provocations and pressures; and pray God command you freedom from them. S. SEWALL.

Here was a woman who had lost her hot temper, and had reviled New England to boot, and Sewall admonishes her like the high-toned and plain-spoken man he was. There is another letter addressed by him (1693) to a man of birth and station in the colony, in which he remonstrates with him on his intemperance, which merits reading, as exposing the sturdy Puritan temper in such matters:—

Dicere quae pudit, scribere jussit Amor.

Sir;

Not seeing you in the assembly, to speak to you and for the reason forementioned I am put upon writing my salutations to Mr. Ward, yourself and good lady: and telling you that I have sympathised with you and your family as to the report that went of some being afflicted by a person in your shape,¹ and that I

¹ Probably some charge of witchcraft.

fully believe the letter asserting your innocence. Allow me also to intimate that I was grieved upon this day was fortnight when I heard and saw that you had drunk to excess; so that your head and hand were rendered less useful than at other times. You may remember you were sitting in the south side of the Council Chamber, on the bench. I drew near to you and enquired concerning Mr. Ward; you answered he was better which made you so merry; you also told me of the breaking up of the ice of the river Merrimac having received the account from your son Cotton. That is the time I intend. Let me intreat you, Sir, to break off this practice (so 'tis rumored to be) not as the river; but obstinately and perpetually to refuse the yoke. As to your being denied a judge's place by the Governor, I no ways influenced him in the matter, neither do I know who did. And I was surprised to hear any talk of the north regiment of Essex being put under any other Major. Don't furnish your enemies with arms. I mention this that you may believe, I write not of prejudice, but kindness; and out of a sense of duty as indeed I do. Take it in good part from him who desires your everlasting welfare. S. S.

The Latin motto which heads this letter should be noted. It was custom among the well-bred of those days to use such mottoes so, and this is a very happy one. Under date of March 7th Sewall writes:—

“Not having had an opportunity to send my letter I was this day surprised to see Major S—— in the Court. I came home at noon and took my letter and delivered it with my own hand just at night, desiring him to read it at his lodging; but he, being impatient, sat down in the very place mentioned and discoursed me gave me thanks and desired my prayers. God give a good effect.”

Here were two able and well-bred Puritans. The picture shows that under those old skies in the wild there could be shown the most gracious colors of true knighthood.

"Sep. 30, 1692. The Swan brings in a rich French prize of about 300 tuns, laden with claret, white wine, brandy, salt, linen, paper &c. Go to Hog Island with Joshua Gee and sell him 3 white oaks for 30s. I am to cart them to the water side. Nov^r 4. Law passes for justices and ministers marrying persons. It seems they count the respect of it too much to be left any longer with the magistrate." [As in the old church, the marriage had always been by the clergy, it being regarded as of a sacramental character, the Puritans disallowed the practice, and their marriages so far had been generally by the civil magistrate.] "And salaries" [Sewall adds] "are not spoken of; as if one sort of men might live on the air. They are treated like a kind of useless, worthless, folk." Nov. 5 [the date of the Guy Fawkes Gunpowder Plot] no disturbance at night by bonfires. Nov. 19. I drove a tree nail in the governors briganteen; and invited his excellency to drink a glass of brandy."

Sewall was used to drive a nail in a new meeting-house or private dwelling for luck, according to an old English superstition. When Governor Simon Bradstreet on his deathbed called in Sewall and other gentlemen to help him add a codicil, he "called for ale, and made us drink." May 23, 1693, Sewall laid the corner-stone of his new house, next Cotton Hill.

"The foundation of the cellar is finished by stones gotten out of the Common. . . . Cap. and Deacon Eliot is buried. He was one of the most serviceable men in Boston, condescending to his friends. One of the best and most respectful friends I had in the world. Lord awaken us. Died in the 61st year of his age. Was one of the first that was born in Boston."

In 1693 a bill forbidding representatives to be chosen except in the town where they lived was passed, against strong objections that this was against English precedent and law. Sewall voted for the bill.

"Aug. 17, 1695. A duel was fought this day upon the Common, between Peggy and one Capt Cole. June 20, 1696. W^m Veasy is bound over for plowing on the day of thanksgiving." [Probably a Church of England man.]

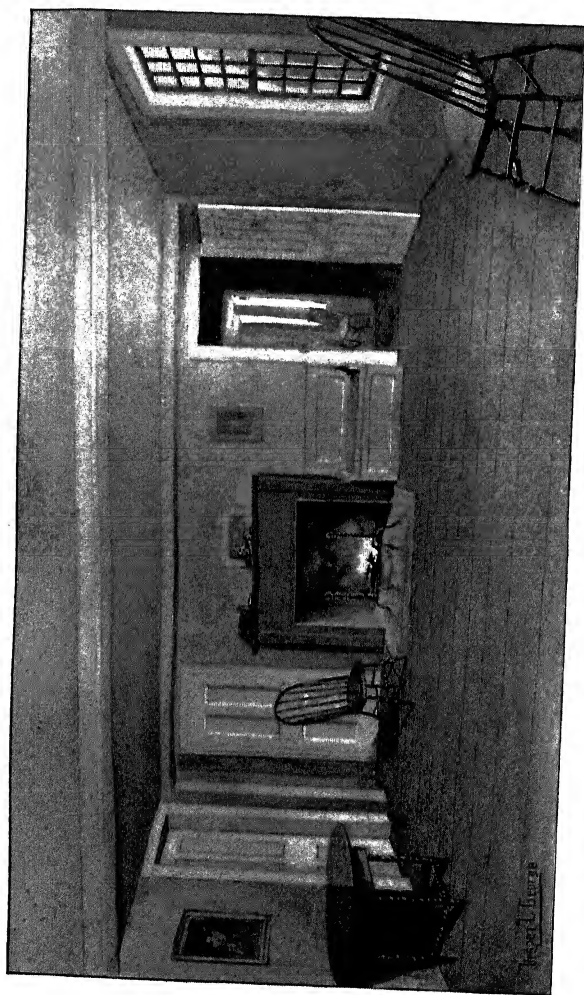
"Wedns', May 15, 1695. Set out for Portsmouth, have a guard of six men from Newbury. Cap. Smith of Hampton meets us with twelve, by Gov. Ushers order, long arms." "Sep. 17. Gov^r Bradstreet drank a glass or two of wine, eat some fruit, took a pipe of tobacco in the new hall [Sewall's new house] and wished me joy of the house and desired our prayers; came to us over the little stone bridge." "Sep. 20. The Lord Bellamont is made our governor."

"Dec. 21, 1696. Note, this morn Madam Eliza Bellingham came to our house and upbraided me with setting my hand to pass Mr. Whartons acc't to the Court where he obtained a judgment for Eustace's farm. I was wheedled and hectorred into that business and have all along been uneasy in the remembrance of it; and now there is one come who will not spare to lay load. The Lord take away my filthy garments and give me change of raiment."

Evidently a case where Sewall's good-nature had led him to an act of which conscience complained. And a brave woman, having her right clad in plain words, was at his elbow to blame.

Oct. 1, 1697, there is a picnic, to Noddle's Island probably; and as his parson, Mr. Willard, and eleven other young people went there it was no doubt a jolly New England frolic of "ye olden tyme." The dinner is significant and toothsome:—

"Had first honey, butter, curds and cream. For dinner, very good roast lamb, turkey, fowls, aplpy [i.e., apple pie]. After dinner sung the 121 Psalm. Note. A glass of spirits my wife sent [was it for the judge or parson, or both?] stood upon a joint stool which Simon W. [Willard the younger] jogging, it fell down and broke all to shivers. I said it was a lively emblem of our fragility and mortality."



MERCY WINTHROP'S WEDDING ROOM.

CHAPTER VIII.

SEWALL, THE INDIANS AND NEGROES.

“Some Puritans one day saw a dog and six Indians. The white men ran away, but they whistled the dog away with them.”

WHILE anxious to avoid the appearance of levity in such grave affairs, the writer has deliberately chosen to put this ancient anecdote at the head of this chapter, as a pat illustration of what has generally happened to the American Indians from the white civilization.

Here were the two races in the wild with one piece of property, to wit, a dog, between them. The property passed to the whites.

Small boys still manage somehow to associate the idea of romance with the Indians; students of our colonial history do not. Yet mystery and misery in a race almost perished at the East, the former occupants of vast domains now given over to the whites, involve the pity of every one who studies the record of the Indians in New England. Yet it is said that ten Englishmen took to the Indian life where one Indian became civilized. The birds and foxes, at least in summer, when food abounds, disport themselves with a certain largeness of freedom and content; and one can readily see that in the vagabond

and careless life of the red men, free from everything but their simple physical needs, there was an attraction to even the white man on the lower side of his nature. Dr. G. E. Ellis, a chief authority, in his book on the Indians, lays his finger on the core of the matter when, explaining the fraternity which the Indians displayed for dirt, he says the Indian regarded dirt as a part of that Nature to which he himself belonged, and hence started no quarrel in his wigwam with brush or broom,—an animate part of that great wild he dwelt in, in such sense that the bear might be his grandsire, or the moose his uncle. He was of the human family, and all possible virtues might lie dormant in him, but so feebly alive that they seldom gave sign, and were oftenest thrust aside by the lower and more violent passions of the brute. Yet our earliest records show him, before contact with the whites had called out his worse elements, often hospitable, generous, and kind, at the expense of his own comfort. Conscience, and the truth-speaking that goes with it, were very rudimentary in him; and the white man, with his better standards, called him treacherous. He was simply a savage, with all that term implies. Perhaps Roger Williams is the best witness of all, as to what the Indian who confronted the Puritan really was, both because he himself was full of truth and mercy, and because in his Rhode Island banishment he had dwelt with them and they with him longer and more intimately than any other white man of equal merit. In his letters of advice to the Winthrops and the

Puritan authorities he discriminates with great caution and frankness:—

“I commonly guess shrewdly at what a native utters, and, to my remembrance, never wrote particular, but either I know the bottom of it, or else I am bold to give a hint of my suspense.”

Dwelling near the great Narragansett, Mohican, and Pequot tribes, and visiting in the wigwams, he writes:—

“’Tis true there is no fear of God before their eyes, and all the cords that ever bound the barbarians to foreigners were made of self and covetousness; yet if I mistake not I observe in Miantonimo some sparks of true friendship; could it be deeply imprinted on him that the English never intended to despoil him of the country, I probably conjecture his friendship would appear in attending of us with 500 men against any foreign enemy.”

He writes (1647):—

TO JOHN WINTHROP JR., NEW LONDON, CONN^T.

Sir, Concerning Indian affairs reports are various; lies are frequent. Private interests, both with Indians and English, are many; yet these things you may and must do. First, Kiss truth where you evidently, upon your soul, see it. 2. Advance justice though upon a child's eyes. 3. Seek and make peace, if possible with all men. 4. Secure your own life from a revengeful malicious arrow or hatchet. I have been in danger of them and delivered yet from them; blessed be His holy name in whom I desire to be,

Your worships, in all unfeigned respects and love

ROGER WILLIAMS.

“The report was,” he says elsewhere “(as most commonly all Indian reports are), absolutely false.”

A peacemaker Williams always was between the two races, and his management and advices to both often prevented violence. Yet the peace he sought was to be based on justice towards the red men. "Mercy," he writes to John Winthrop, "outshines all the works and attributes of Him who is the Father of mercies." When the Narragansetts complained that their Pequot prisoners and their booty had been taken from them by the English, he writes :—

"For though I would not fear a jar with them, yet I would fend off from being foul and deal with them wisely as with wolves endowed with men's brains."

[1637.] "Concerning Miantonimo I have not heard as yet of any unfaithfulness towards us. I know that they belie each other; and I observe our countrymen have almost quite forgotten our great pretences to King and state and all the world, concerning their souls. I shall desire to attend with my poor help to discover any perfidious dealing and shall desire the revenge of it for a common good and peace, though myself and mine should perish by it; yet I fear the Lord's quarrel is not ended for which the war began, viz., the little sense of their soul's condition and our large protestations that way. The general speech is, all must be rooted out. The body of the Pequot men yet live and are only removed from their den. The good Lord grant that the Mohawks and they and the whole, at the last, unite not."

He writes of the Pequot captives made slaves to the whites :—

"My humble desire is that all who have those poor wretches might be exhorted as to walk wisely and justly towards them, so as to make mercy eminent, for in that attribute the Father of Mercy most shines to Adam's miserable offspring."

In this same first Indian war, when every Indian of every age and sex was killed at sight, Canonicus, although the Pequots' bitter enemy, said to Roger Williams that it would be pleasing to all natives that the women and children of the Pequots should be spared.

In the same war he writes :—

“Divers of the friendly Indians were hurt by the English because they had no mark to distinguish them. You may please therefore to provide some yellow or red for their heads. The Connecticut English had yellow but not enough.”

He even extends his care to the comfort of the Indian chiefs, his neighbors. He writes to John Winthrop (1637) :—

“Sir, if anything be sent to the princes I find that Canonicus would gladly accept of eight or ten pounds of sugar, and indeed he told me he would thank Mr. Governor for a box full.”

And again :—

“For any gratuities or tokens Canonicus desires sugar ; Miantonimo powder.”

The first attitude of the Puritans towards the Indians was one of justice, good-will, and a strong desire for their conversion to civilization and religion. It was expressly stated in their charter as the king's wish and their own. In fact, they regarded them as their wards, and took firm measures accordingly. Whenever and wherever else on this continent the red man suffered wrong at the hands of the white

man's government, here in the first years of the colony he did not. The Puritan in his treatment of the Indians, in contrast with the Spaniard shows like an angel of light. It may go without saying that bad white men did maltreat and rob them,—men themselves dwelling on the very outskirts of civilized decencies, and, for long, emigrants from honor. But what they did was in the very teeth of plain Puritan law forbidding, with sharp penalties, the outrage. This the colonial laws prove. The first law regarding Indians is one establishing the Indian's right and title to all lands which they had improved and occupied, solemnly appealing to the Word of God as demanding the same (Gen. i. 28; ix. 1. Psalms cxv. 16). There were laws also that civilized Indians might either dwell among the English on equal terms with them, or have townships granted to them, and dwell there as citizens, exactly as the English had and did; that none should meddle with "their planting grounds and fishing places;" in 1633-1637 that no man should pretend to buy land of the Indians except by license of the General Court, under penalty of forfeiting the land so bought, with the intent, apparently, that government oversight might control private greed or craft against Indians; that their planted grounds were to be protected from the white man's cattle; and that the towns, at the public expense, were to help any Indian in their jurisdiction fence his own land, if he asked it; in short, that the Indians should have justice.

Of course these wards of the Puritans were to

a degree put under watch out of sheer necessity. All powder, shot, bullets, guns, were at first forbidden to be sold to them, as well as boats and skiffs; but as they hired Indians to hunt, and the Massachusetts Company claimed the monopoly of fur skins just as legally by their charter as the Hudson Bay Company after did, this law was repealed a few years before King Philip's War. Besides, the Dutch and French were always ready to sell these contraband goods, and did so, to the mortal hurt of Englishmen. They further prohibited the sale of every sort of strong drink (1657), "under penalty of 40s. for one pint, and so proportionately for greater or lesser quantities so sold, bartered, or given, directly or indirectly, as above said." For the better execution of this order, all trucking-houses erected, but not allowed by the Court were to be demolished; the Grand Jury of every shire were to inquire and present every violation of the law, the only exceptions being when, in good faith, any Indian was to be relieved in any case of sudden extremity (and then only one dram was to be given), or a physician gave an order in case of sickness, which order was to be indorsed by a magistrate.

This law repealed the preceding one of 1644, which ordered:—

"The Court apprehending that it is not fit to deprive the Indians of any lawful comfort which God alloweth to all men by the use of wine, do order that it shall be lawful for all such as are or shall be allowed license to retail wines, to sell also to the Indians so much as may be fit for their needful use or refreshing."

Yet the Puritans could not afford to forget the saying of Roger Williams that the Indians were as "wolves endowed with men's brains." In due time laws were made forbidding Indian powwows, or "the worship of the Devil," as the statute has it, fining their drunkenness with 10s. or ten stripes, as the offender chose, or was in funds, and insisting in a general way on Indians not offending in English settlements the Puritan Sabbath or ordinary customs of society. The severity of all such laws increased during and after King Philip's War, when the whites had felt how sharp the wolves' teeth were.

The behavior of the Indians towards the whites was both natural and consistent. They took generally from the higher civilization at their doors, as savages do, all that was worst and very little that was best. Shiftlessness was first nature to them, all the roots of their life growing thereto; and they withered before the race that built barns and filled them. Some waited on the overlords with white faces, and the rest abode in wigwams, and accepted the old dirt and want therein, every year made more acute, if possible, by the crescent fields of the white man's thrift. The great tribes in the New England South Land of Rhode Island and the Connecticut seacoast haughtily repelled intrusion upon their barbarism, and perished, tribe by tribe, and unconverted. The Cape and Island Indians of our south coast, numerous, and comfortably fed from the sea, remained in peace, and died out. The Eastern Indians of the province of Maine, recruited from the

Canadian wilds behind them and the French arms, fought long and bitterly, until their fragments hid themselves somewhere in their ruined wigwams. The great Mohawk tribes, with the same white allies, made their occasional intrusions with the tomahawk, but met their fate at other than New England hands. It was no wrong that slew them, but the Kismet or Fate of their barbarism. King Philip's War was as much destiny as is the monthly circuit of the moon or the gravity of water. It may well be questioned whether a single Indian ever comprehended the exact nature of an English title deed to which he set his mark, or more than one jot and tittle of any Puritan dogma to which he opened his ears. King Philip, with larger opportunity and observation, banded his race together to destroy the whites. That he was in no wise a great savage both his defective statesmanship and soldiership show. His complaint was that the whites had encroached on his fields, and fenced their own, and made dams to the injury of Indian fisheries. The cause which he forced to issue was, whether he knew it or not, that, as the two races could not live together, one must die, and the strife of arms must decide which.

King Philip's War marks an epoch not only in the history of our white civilization, but of the red barbarism as well. After its issue the Indian's position was never the same, nor the white man's attitude to him. For the English colonists it was the Day of Judgment, in whose fires it was to be seen whether the Puritan was a man of chaff and stubble, or a

being of those more precious metals which the fire anneals only to purify from dross. The Puritans themselves understood the crisis this way. Their commissioners to the Indians were told to manage the business "with clearness and confidence, so that no panic, fear, or weakness of mind might appear; and let them know that the English were resolved to make war their work, until they enjoyed a firm peace."

Though not the first of Puritan tragedies, either in its dignity or scope, King Philip's War was perhaps the gloomiest, and, considering the numbers involved, the reddest. It was rich in dramatic elements and situation. From the time of the interview in Taunton Meeting-house, when the Puritans marched in first, and kept on one side, while the Indian warriors marched in, not with the martial tramp of armed men, but with the soft, noiseless tread of subtle savages, their long hair hanging down their shoulders, and eyes flashing latent fire, all being armed, and Philip said, "Was not my father the friend of the English? Was not my brother at peace with them? Is God angry that there should be blood on our hatchets, and that the hearth of the English should be red?" until the hour when Philip fell dead in the swamp-mud, and his only son was doomed to foreign slavery, there arose over the land a wail; but it was the wail of men and women able to conquer fate in the name of the Lord of hosts, and to transmit the treasures of the Puritan civilization, unimpaired, though, as it were, from their fireless hearthstones where they lay slain, and from where

their Absaloms with golden hair had perished red-handed somewhere in the wild against the savage.

The sufferings which English women and children taken captive endured seem incredible, and the wonder is that any survived, especially women with very young children. Mrs. Rowlandson, wife of the minister of Lancaster, gives one of the most vivid pictures of how these captives fared. There must have been something very vital in that old stock when she could write of certain little children: "The children said they did not shed one tear, but prayed all the while when their mother was killed and burnt before them." Mrs. Rowlandson was brought personally in contact with Philip. She says of him:—

"Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did; for which he gave me a shilling. I offered the money to my mistress but she bade me keep it, and with it I bought a piece of horseflesh. Afterwards he asked me to make a cap for his boy for which he invited me to dinner. I went and he gave me a pancake about as big as two fingers. It was made of parched wheat, beaten and fried in bear's grease; but I thought I never tasted better meat in my life.

"I was with the enemy eleven weeks and five days and not one week passed without their fury and some desolation by fire and sword upon one place or other. They mourned for their own losses, yet triumphed and rejoiced in their inhuman and devilish cruelty to the English."

The statistics of King Philip's War are in all its histories. Only here, afar off, let us see its incidents. The Indian time of attack was generally after the leaves came out in the later spring and summer, since a bare forest would prevent ambuscades, their favor-

ite mode of warfare. Having no magazines, they were always with a daily famine before them, and being obliged to scatter to their lands to plant and gather corn, they were liable in such dispersion to be cut off coming or going and in detail. The whites had the sea and its transportation, and beheld them the civilized world, as long as they had money. They strained every nerve and won, though the war dragged, Eastward, many years. There were not lacking touches of grim humor among the white combatants. Captain Mosely of Boston wore a wig of which in battle he used to disencumber himself, acquiring among the Indians the soubriquet of "the man of two heads," very much as Captain Cook did among the Sandwich Islanders. Rev. Mr. Niles said of him, "When he came to engage the enemy, he would go to hang his wig upon a bush and still to wear his head upon his shoulders and do great exploits among them."

But the general substances of the Indian wars in New England were cruelty and sorrow. The Pequot War was first; and the English breaking in by night surprise into the Pequot fort, only those savages lived who managed to get out. The tribe lapsid or was scattered among the more distant Indian. Forty years after came King Philip's War; and the crisis of it was that other attack on the Narragansett fort, not far from the elder Pequot one, where on a Puritan Sabbath, in a palisaded fort, with only one entrance of a felled tree to some thirty-five hundred savages, a thousand Englishmen, marching eight

miles in deep snow without food and on a stormy night, broke in, put to the sword all who stood, marched back all night, till two P.M., while their wounded died or froze, to Wickford, and had a crust of bread for their late dinner. The English loss was seventy killed and a hundred and fifty wounded, — more than one in five; while the martial tribe that gathered in the Kingston swamp had its mouth this day filled full with war and blood.

We have a glimpse of that day's fury in a petition of a certain Samuel Hall to the General Court for compensation for his clothes lost in "the Swamp Fight." When Captain Mason (son of the old captain against the Pequots) was shot down, Hall writes:—

"I was just before him when he fell down and shook him by the hand I being shot down before in that very place, so that he fell very near me. But Cap. Mason got up again and went forth and I lay bleeding there in the snow and hearing the word commanded to set fire on the wigwams I considered I should be burned if I did not crawl away. It pleased God to give me strength to get up and get out, with my cutlass in my hand, notwithstanding I had received at that time, four bullets, two in each thigh, as was manifest afterwards."

There has been no armed strife in this land which better shows the toughness and mastery of the Puritan blood in battle than this of the Narragansetts' fort.

Sewall was in public life during this war, and his Diary very well expresses the daily alarm and distress.

A few excerpts will show the work that was now

going on in the New England woods almost everywhere : —

“ June 6, 1676. Hatfield fight. 5 English killed and about 14 Indians. June 7. 90 Indians killed and taken by Connecticut Ferry. June 22. Two Indians, Capt Tom and another executed after lecture. Last week two killed by Taunton scouts, as they were in the river, fishing.” “ Note this week troopers, a party killed two men and took an Indian boy alive.” “ Just between the thanksgiving, June 29 and Sabbath Day July 2 Capt Bradford’s expedition 20 killed and taken; almost an 100 came in; Squaws Sachem.” “ July 1. 9 Indians sold for £30, Capt Hincksmen took a little before. The night after, James, the printer and other Indians [Christians] came into Cambridge. July 1, 1676. Mr. Hezekiah Willet slain by Narragansetts, a little more than gunshot off from his house, his head taken off, body stript. Jethro, his nigger, then taken; retaken by Capt Bradford the Thursday following. He saw the English and ran to them. He related Philip to be sound and well, about a 1000 Indians (all sorts) with him, but sickly; three died while he was there. Related that the M^t Hope Indians that knew Mr. Willet were sorry for his death, mourned, combed his head and hung peag [wampum, the Indian shell coin, their barbaric money] in his hair.”

A touch of nature which shows that some of these Indians had kind hearts, though most slew so cruelly.

“ July 8. 9 Indians — 2 English sallied out, slew 5 and took two alive. These Indians were killed not many miles from Dedham.” “ July 9, 10. This week Indians came in at Plymouth to prove themselves faithful, fetch in others by force; among those discovered are some that slew Mr. Clark’s family; viz. two Indians; they accuse one of them that surrendered to the English. All three put to death.”

“ Note. One Englishman lost in the woods, taken and tortured to death. Medfield men with volunteers, English and Indians, kill and take Canonicus with his son and 50 more.”

"July 27 Sagamore John comes in, brings Mattoonus and his son prisoner. Mattoonus shot to death the same day by John's men."

July 22, 1695, he writes :—

"We are grievously oppressed by our French and Pagan enemies by land and sea. Our blood and estates are running out apace. As several captives escaped inform us our heads are set at a certain rate by the Governor of Quebec as foreskins of the Philistines were of old. God, in his time will confound all the worshippers of graven images."

Later on he writes a letter to his cousin in England, which in one sentence expresses the current remorseless temper of the Puritan public towards the Indians :—

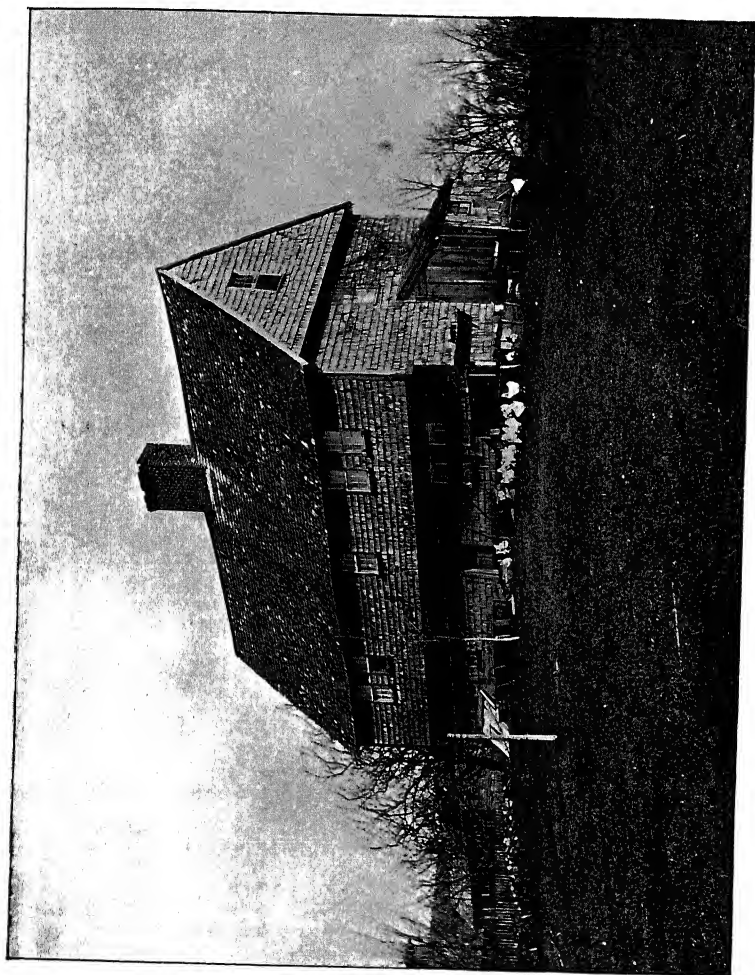
"It hath been generally a sick summer with us. The autumn promiseth better. As to our enemies God hath, in a great measure, given us to see our desire upon them. Most ringleaders in the late massacre have themselves had blood to drink, ending their lives by bullets and halters. Yet there is some trouble and bloodshed still in the more remote eastern parts. What is past, is so far from ushering in a famine, that all sorts of grain have been very plenty and cheap.
S. S."

Boston, Oct. 23, 1676.

The condition of the country generally at this time and for years after is summed up in this later incisive sentence of Sewall :—

"Our husbandmen got their bread in the peril of their lives by reason of the sword of the wilderness. Every now and then we hear of some slain here and there."

A letter of Sewall's to the captive minister of Deerfield, then in the French hands in Canada, ex-



AN INDIAN BLOCK HOUSE.

presses, perhaps, the current religious sense of our people about these Indian sufferings :—

“ The divine poet gives us an account of God’s feeding his people with the bread of tears. Well. God times things best and I endeavor of wait and hope that your merciful return will be a plain instance of it. As you prayed earnestly for those who returned last, so you will be glad to hear that they landed well here the 2^d inst.

S. S. TO REV^D. JOHN WILLIAMS.

Aug. 22, 1706.”

A few men both before and after King Philip’s War set resolutely about the conversion of the Indians. After that war they found little sympathy from the whites, but they kept on. The most successful missions were at Cape Cod, Martha’s Vineyard, Natick, and the territory forty miles around Boston. Mayhew went to the Vineyard from Watertown; Bourne, whose labors as yet have had too scant recognition from our historians, wrought up and down the Cape, with his headquarters in Sandwich; and Eliot, of course, was at Natick. The success in general was slow and checkered. The missionaries were sincere and painstaking, but they had the English prejudice; and even Eliot, when he spent the Sabbath in Natick, ate victuals which his wife cooked at home, and dwelt apart in a chamber fitted up in his meeting-house. Yet Frenchmen and gentlemen spent their lives in the dirt and smoke of Canadian wigwams alone to convert this same race to substantially the same religion. This curious antipathy of

racess is still preserved in this commonwealth in one of the few still extant Indian missions.

The missionaries treated the Indians very much as grown children. On their earlier visits they treated the little ones "to apples, and their elders to tobacco and what else they had at hand," before unfolding to them the riches of the gospel. They bought and imported agricultural and mechanics' tools, and tried to teach them useful arts. There were found white men who would nurse the Indians through smallpox, even when their own people had deserted them. They tried to gather them into compact settlements, where they might be less exposed to the influences of their savage countrymen, and where the civilizing influence of the whites might make itself felt. In fact, they appealed to all that was in them; but there was not much in them, or at least not much which white men actually touched. Not more than four thousand converts at the most answered their toil. There is much significance in a sentence like this: "Sagamore John near Watertown began to hearken after God and his ways but was kept down by fear of the scoffs of the Indians." For an Indian to be converted often was to be denationalized, and a traitor to boot, in the eyes of his countrymen. They were taught the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue, and, hardest of all, were liberally treated to the Puritan theology in its full strength. One instance of the order of public worship as had by Eliot may stand for all: "Began with prayer in

English, then he preached $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours in Indian, 'running through Christianity.' The Indians were then asked if they understood all, and they answered with a multitude of voices that they understood all. Questions put and answered on both sides." There was undoubtedly some good done and actual conversions. The Indians respected the word of an Englishman. A native rebuked an Englishman for felling a tree on the Sabbath, and a chief ordered his tribe not to shoot pigeons in that holy season. Many wished to learn of the white man's God, and some actually showed the virtues of Christianity. The converts had new names given them significant of some Christian virtue.

These converts during the war behaved variously. Many joined the enemy, and were among the most cruel. Others stayed in their places, and many, for safer oversight, were put on islands in Boston and Plymouth Harbors, from whence, at peace, they went home again. Opinions were divided as to what exactly these converts in this crisis showed themselves to be, with the majority against them.

Here is one sample of the behavior : —

"James the printer was an Indian, son of a deacon of the Church of 'Praying Indians' at Grafton. He was educated at the Indian School in Cambridge, and helped in the printing of Eliot's Bible. He ran away to join Philip's warriors, but came back when mercy was promised all who would come in within 14 days. He resumed printing, and his name, with that of Green, his master, appears as printer of the Indian Psalter in 1709."

Sewall, from early manhood, as his Diary shows, took a warm interest in the conversion of the Indians, alike creditable to his head and heart. He was one of the commissioners appointed from England to overlook their interests, and he took many long journeys to Martha's Vineyard and elsewhere in their behalf. He often rewarded the best scholars among them with a Psalter or Bible, and worshipped with them. Yet withal he judged them and their religious prospects carefully, and no man's opinion of them is more entitled to respect. These opinions are expressed in his Diary and letters.

The idea was prevalent that the Indians were the lost tribes of the house of Israel.

ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD.

"Sep. 16, 1706. Gave the squaw that has lost her feet 10 pounds of wool.

"Jan^y 30, 1708. John Neesnummin, Indian preacher, comes to me with M^r R. Cotton's letters; I shew him to Dr. Mather. Bespeak a lodging for him at Mathias Smith's; but after, they sent me word they could not do it. So I was fain to lodge him in my study. Jan^y 31. P.M. I sent him on his way towards Natick, with a letter to John Trowbridge, to take him in if there should be occasion."

Here is another illustration of the prevalent and constant antipathy of the whites towards the Indians. Here was an educated Indian preacher, with letters of introduction from his friend Cotton of Sandwich, himself a preacher to them. Sewall first turns him over to a tavern, which refuses to have him. Then he makes a bed for him in his library instead of his

guest chamber, and, after keeping him all the day, probably for business, sends him forth on a January afternoon, to fare along the Indian Natick, with a letter in his pocket requesting the body to take him in if he fares late, and all the risk of losing his way in the snow, or of being refused entertainment at any white man's house. The old American antipathy to the negro, as far as what remains of it now, is well known. Against that antipathy by the negroes' frequent cruelties and ever-present nastiness, and we have the old tan feeling towards the Indians in 1700 A.D. Sewall behaved better than most of his neighbors.

The New England Indians were preached to, and perished, not because of the preaching, but because of Will or Fate which some men are not ashamed to call God.¹ They were a singular race, — singular in the mystery of their origin, their history, and the terms of their decay. The Arabs on the Nile, and the late British expedition to rescue Gordon, had no more than contempt for the negroes around them. In every bivouac they fraternized on terms of the most friendly equality with the Indians who came out with the Canadian boatmen. In New England as a class they never obtained respect, and the last most were unworthy. Yet Chief Justice Sewall tells us in his diary (1732) that of the grand jury of Nantucket, out of eighteen, nine were Indians. He also tells us that one of their people was a Jew there, named Corduga. In overseeing the Indians

¹ See Appendix, Note B.

morals, if they did not tend their corn, and for "rogue tricks and being drunk," his invariable sentence was, "Ten stripes for each offence."

Here follow certain opinions of Sewall about the best way of dealing with the whole race:—

"The Indians themselves are divided in the desires upon this matter [of Christian civilization].

"Some old men wished the old ways; young men the new.

"The Indians differed in dialects. The Bible was in the Natick dialect—Nantucket could not understand N. H. . . . Their language is also continually changing; old words wearing out and new ones coming in. A discreet person lately visiting the Indian villages writes: 'There are many words of Mr. Elliotts forming which they never understood. This they say is a grief to them. Such a knowledge in their Bibles, as our English ordinarily have in ours, they seldom any of them have.'

"The best thing we can do for our Indians is to Anglicise them in all agreeable instances; and in that of language as well as others. They can scarce retain their language without a tincture of other savage inclinations, which do but ill suit, either with the honor or with the design of Christianity.

"I should think it requisite that convenient tracts of land should be set out to them; and that by plain and natural boundaries, as much as may be; as lakes, rivers, mountains, rocks; upon which for any man to encroach should be accounted a crime. Except this be done, I fear their own jealousies, and the French Friars will persuade them, that the English as they increase and think they want more room will never leave till they have crowded them quite out of all their lands. And it will be a vain attempt for us to offer heaven to them, if they take up prejudices against us as if they did grudge them a living upon their own earth."

This necessary action Sewall insists on again and again, as his Letter Book shows.

“The Savoy Confession of Faith, English on one side and Indian on the other, has been lately printed here; as also several sermons of the President’s [Increase Mather] have been transcribed into Indian, and printed which I hope in God’s time, will have a very good effect.

TO SIR W^M ASHHURST.

May 3, 1700.”

Sewall did for the Indians apparently all he could. Cotton Mather sets down that Judge Sewall built the Indians a meeting-house at his own charge for one of the Indian congregations, but does not tell us where, and “gave those Indians cause to pray for him because ‘he loveth our nation for he hath built us a synagogue.’” From the first volume of Sewall’s Letter Book, lately published, it appears that this meeting-house was somewhere in Sandwich, Barnstable County, Cape Cod. Sewall, as his Diary shows, had often visited here in his guardianship of the Indians. He writes to the carpenter, Edward Milton, Sept. 26, 1687:—

“Capⁿ Thomas Tupper tells me that you are to build a convenient comfortable meeting house for the natives at Sandwich 24 ft. long — 18 broad with two galleries — £30. Now if it may any way forward the work, I do engage that on the finishing of the work you shall not miss of your pay.”

[The next year.] “April 13, 1688. Elder Chipman visits me and tells me that the Indian Meeting House is raised.”

July 9, 1688, he writes the contractor:—

“Upon Capt Tupper’s sending me word that the house is ceiled as it ought to be, I will pay you five and twenty shillings in money to you or to your order. If it be not well filled

between the clapboards and the ceiling, I doubt the house will be cold."

He suggests shavings for filling. Recent inquiries fairly establish the fact that this meeting-house was built at Herring River, Sandwich, near or among the Herring Pond Indians, the descendants of whom now live there, and still have their own meeting-house, not two miles from where this primitive house of worship was built.

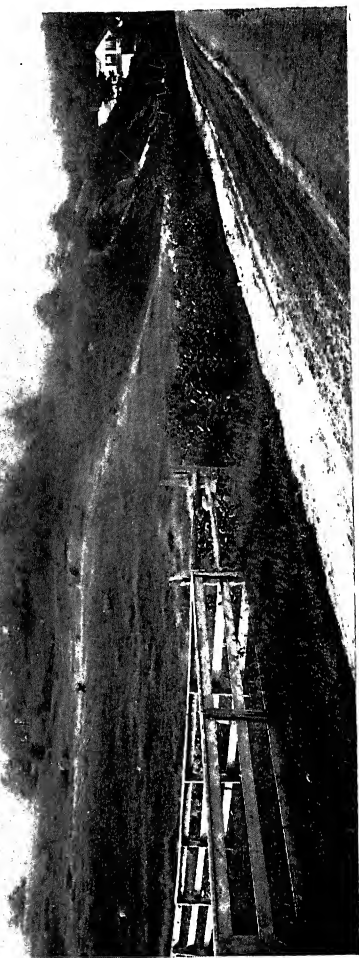
The proofs for this locality will be found in the note.¹

Sewall also showed himself a life-long friend of the negro, and that very much beyond the current philanthropy of his age. Elsewhere will be found his argument, "On the Selling of Joseph," against slavery. But the slavery of the negro was in New England, as in all Christendom, and Sewall foresaw the danger and the duty. Indeed, too much praise can hardly be allotted to Sewall's memory for his stout stand all his life against wrong of any sort to these defenceless and often maltreated Africans. In this respect Sewall stands pre-eminent, and at least a hundred and fifty years before his times. Very unlike the Indians, except in misery, they both served and troubled their owners with a mild chronic medley of laziness and unreliableness.

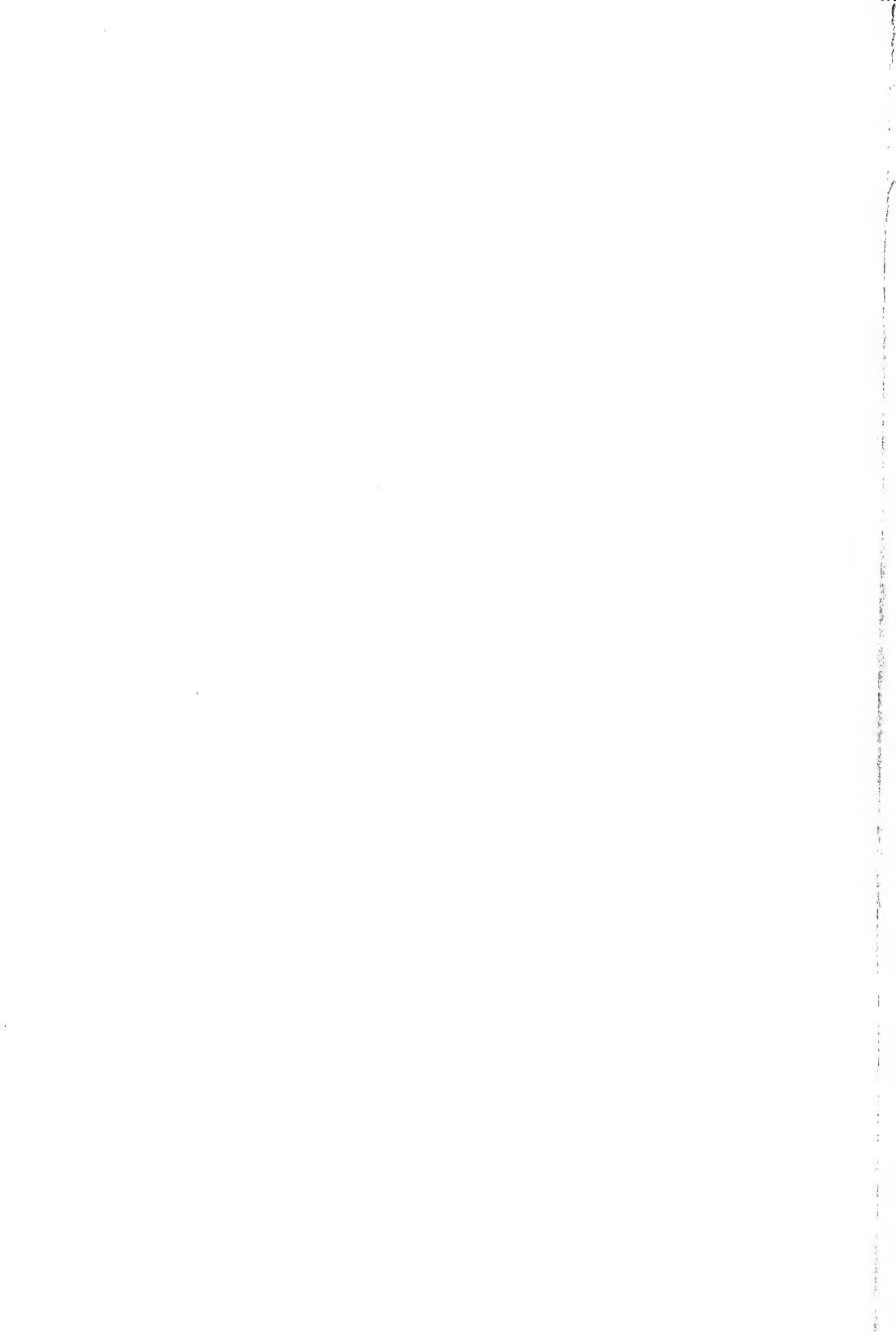
Wait Winthrop writes of one of his brother's slaves:—

"I fear black Tom will do but little service. He used to make a show of hanging himself before folks but I believe he is

¹ See Appendix, Note C.



× SITE OF SEWALL'S MEETING HOUSE.



not very nimble about it when he is alone. 'Tis good to have an eye on him, and if you think it not worth while to keep him, either sell him or send him to Virginia or the West Indies before winter."

These poor creatures, thus bound to an inimical and masterful race, had no future of comfort, no hope of progress; and had it not been for a few men, among whom Sewall ranks first, they would have had no marriages or natural relationships respectable in law. An extract or two from the Diary will give us glimpses of the situation:—

"I essayed June 22 [1716] to prevent Indians and negroes being rated with horses and hogs; but could not prevail."

"Thursday Sep. 26, 1700. Mr. John Wait and Eunice his wife and Mrs. Debora Thayer come to speak to me about the marriage of Sebastian, negro servant of said Wait with Jane, negro servant of said Thayer. Mr. Wait desired they might be published in order to marriage. Mrs. Thayer insisted that Sebastian might have one day in six allowed him for the support of Jane, his intended wife and her children, if it should please God to give her any. Mr. Wait now wholly declined that but freely offered to allow Bastian five pounds in money per annum towards the support of his children by said Jane (besides Sebastian's clothing and diet.) I persuaded Jane and Mrs. Thayer to agree to it and so it was concluded; and Mrs. Thayer gave up the note of publication to Mr. Wait for him to carry it to W^m Griggs, the town clerk and to Williams in order to have them published according to law."

This closing extract from his Letter Book, referring to an old scandal of which the writer has been unable to find no trace elsewhere, fitly exposes Sewall's great generous heart in his care for the down-trodden:—

“The poorest boys and girls within this province, such as are of the lowest condition, whether they be English or Indians or Ethiopians, they have the same right to religion and life, that the richest heirs have. And they who go about to deprive them of this right, they attempt the bombarding of Heaven; and the shells they throw shall fall down upon their own heads.

TO ADDINGTON DAVENPORT, ESQ., *going to Judge Smith of Sandwich for killing his negro, 1719.*”

There spoke the will of Lollard, Puritan, and Protestant. The student of history, believing in the relationship of cause and effect in all the ages of time, and looking across this land to find no slave between the seas, though the white marbles marking its soldiers' stately sleep are on ten thousand hillsides, South Land, must fain confess that this Puritan judge was also prophet, and that our strain has loyally enforced, in later days, that ancient will.

CHAPTER IX.

SEWALL IN ENGLAND.

IN November, 1688, Sewall undertook his only voyage back to the mother land. All the fall, as his Journal shows, he had been making ready by interviewing his relatives and collecting supplies.

"Monday Oct. 15. Speak to Gilbert Cole to bottle me a barrel of beer for the sea." "In the afternoon coming out of town I met Mr. Ratcliff [the Church of England minister], who asked me if I were going for England. He asked when; I said in Cap. Clark. He prayed God Almighty to bless me and said must wait on me." "Novr 7. Brother Stephen comes to town and brings me my letter of attorney and other writings." [Papers to authorize him to settle money affairs in England.] "I asked his Excellency [the Governor] if he has any service for me to Hampshire or Coventry. He said none in particular." "Nov. 16. Brother Stephen and I with Mr. Pole and Cap. Clark go on board the America. It rained before we got aboard and all the way as we came from the ship; had a glass of good Madeira. Brother commends the ship, dines with us and returns to Salem."

He was now a man of station and repute in Boston, and his object in going was probably to revisit the scenes of his childhood, and to renew family friendships, while at the same time he might assist Cotton Mather, now resident agent of Massachusetts in London, to make terms with the king's govern-

ment in behalf of the colony, which was now substantially without a settled government, and the titles of whose citizens to their landed property were supposed to be put in jeopardy by the withdrawal of their charter. Sewall had come out when he was nine years old, and was now thirty-six years of age.

The Journal of this visit is a manuscript volume by itself, and its record of the voyage itself shows more thrift and comfort aboard than of old. Each passenger apparently laid in his own luxuries beforehand; and Sewall was always a good purveyor. His wife and friends had also assisted. We find such entries as these :—

“ Nov^r 27. Ate my wife’s pastry the remembrance of whom is ready to cut me to the heart.” [Friday Dec. 7.] “ Breakfast on one of my wife’s plum cakes.” “ Dreamed much of my wife last night. Gave me a piece of cake for Hannah Hett; was in plain dress and white apron.”

There are such entries as these :—

“ One of the geese dies yesterday or to-day.” “ This day eat Simon Gates’ goose;” “ Killed the sheep to-day;” “ Killed the shoat” [young hog].

From all which we may conclude that there was fresh meat aboard. Nor did the Puritan afloat or ashore willingly lack somewhat to drink. Yet there was little drunkenness in those days of pure liquors and much out-door exercise. Just before going into port Sewall tells us they met a pink (vessel) fourteen days from Liverpool, “ who sent us some bottles of

very good beer, and we him one of my bottles of brandy. We bought 3 cheeses of him."

Sewall apparently had a rough voyage of some six weeks when he landed at Dover, Jan. 13, 1689. He was not a bad sailor himself, and gives us many nautical hints of how they handled or lost sails, etc., and how things went on in the cabin:—

"Just at night, the wind blows very hard, just in our teeth, so lie by under the Mizzen, the other sails being furled. Scarce any sleeping all night things in the cabin were so hurled to and again."

For the first week they had head winds:—

"Nov. 30. 'Tis a very laborious day by reason of hail, snow, wind and a swollen sea all in a foaming breach." "Dec. 4th. Can't dress victuals to-day." [Again]: "wind aft, so cabin shut up and burn candles all day." "My Erasmus was quite loosened out of the binding by the breaking of the water into the cabin when it did." "The good Lord fit us for his good pleasure in this our passage."

He keeps his eyes open for all that is going on,—for a rainbow; gulls on the banks of Newfoundland; "a woodcock that flies on board of us which we drive away essaying to catch him" (Dec. 24); a storm petrel; "a flock of sparrows seen to-day" (Jan. 5). "Some say they saw a Robin Red Breast to-day" (same date). He can even lay a wager (no uncommon Puritan pastime) as to when they will see land, and sets it down that he puts up his stakes. He and the other gentlemen aboard make up a purse of between thirty and forty shillings for him who first

sees land. "I gave an oblong Mexico piece of Eight."

But Sewall's main vocation on shipboard was to prayers and the reading of pious and now forgotten books of Puritan theology, and there was evidently much employ over their contents. The second day out in great discomfort of foul weather :—

"Benny Harris reads the 21 of the Proverbs which is the first chapter I heard read on shipboard. I much heeded that verse 'He that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the congregation of the dead.'" "Mr. Clarke reads the first two chapters of Isaiah and Capt. Clark prays." [Their first Sabbath at sea, Nov. 25.] "Strong east wind. I read the 74th Psalm, being that I should have read at home in the family. Sung the 23^d Psalm."

Of a Puritan book he writes :—

"This day I finished reading Dr. Manton. Blessed be God who in my separation from my dear wife and family hath given me his apostle James with such an exposition."

Then follow Sewall's reflections, which are very keen in personal applications to himself and his fellow-Christians. "Paul's thorn in the flesh meant of some racking pain, not of a prevailing lust." Nor can he quite give over on shipboard his old pastime of dreaming, which he always regards with an awful eye :—

"Last night I dreamed of military matters, arms and captains, and all of a sudden, Major Gookin [his ancient friend and fellow-soldier] very well clad from head to foot, and of a very fresh lively countenance . . . his coat and breeches of blood red silk beckoned me out of the room," etc.

When his ship approached land it was nigh upon wrecked on Scilly rocks; but after this narrow escape, in an easy and gossipy way among the friendly vessels making port, and yet with one eye always open for a hostile foreigner, Sewall landed at Dover, while the ship went on to London. He now found himself face to face with the social life of Old England in the seventeenth century, and seems to have enjoyed it, at least the Puritan and godly side of it, with much gusto. He went across Kent to Canterbury by way of Chatham and Rochester to London, arriving in three days from Dover, Jan. 16, 1689. The entries are as follows:—

“Sabbath Jan'y. 13. Through God's grace landed about 9 or 10 o'clock. Mr. Newgate and I went and heard one Mr. Goff in a kind of malt house. In afternoon all went.” “Jan'y. 14. Rode in a coach to Canterbury. Getting there a little before night viewed the Cathedral which is a very lofty and magnificent building, but of little use. Visited Aunt Fessenden her son John and her three daughters. Cousin John supped with us at the Red Lion.” “Jan'y. 15. Came to Rochester through Sittingburn (where dined) and Ranam [Raynham?] with other little places. No room in the inn by reason of soldiers so lodged at the coffee house.”

In London he indulges in a round of sight-seeing, writing down with a brief, vivid pen sharp observations of men and things. First of all, as was Puritan, he waited on the ministry of the Word.

“Jan'y. 30. Heard Dr. Sharp preach before the Commons from Psalm 51.” “Next day heard Mr. Chauncy [probably an ejected minister] preach.” “May 31. Is a fast kept at Dr. Annesly's; they began with singing and sang 4 or 5 times.

After all, had a contribution. Five ministers exercised. Four wore their own hair." [Which was a comfort to him who hated periwigs]. June 7. "Go and hear Mr. Stretton and sit down with him at the Lord's Supper. He invites me to dinner." "Before sermon read the 32 Psalm, the 50th of Jeremiah, the 12th of Matthew. Had one plate of bread about 5 bottles of wine and two silver cups. At night about 10 a'clock a great fire breaks forth in Mincing Lane." "Went to the funeral of Mr. Loves, formerly an assistant to Dr. Owens. Was buried in a grave near the Dr's. tomb. A pretty many men and women there. July 21. Went in the afternoon to Stepney and heard Mr. Lawrence. He fears the clouds returning after the rain as to Anti-Christian powers. His heart much upon the 1000 years. Something in this sermon as I perceive by them that know; few sermons without. Gives notice that Mr. Crouch, the minister is dead and will be buried tomorrow, 5 o'clock from Armourer's Hall."

So far as Sewall's rather blind reference to the above sermons are concerned, it looks as if these Puritan parsons, with due economy and care of their lives and property, were engaged in flinging at the king and the current course of English politics. There was something in these sermons undoubtedly.

"Aug. 17. Go to the new meeting-house [in Deal] 34 wide and 41 foot long; two galleries, one at each end, of 4 seats apiece. Roof is double with a gutter in the middle; built with brick covered with tile." "Sabbath Aug. 18. Heard Mr. Larner in a barn." [Quite like New England.] "Aug. 25. Mr. Mather preaches for Mr. Larner in the afternoon. Oct. 6. Go to Mr. Jacobs and in the afternoon sit down with him at the Lord's Supper; and so I go from one Pit to another to see if I can find any water to refresh me in my disappointments and discomforts."

He mentions hearing one preach from, "Have no fellowship with the works of darkness," who said that

erroneous worship was a work of darkness ; whereby the preacher probably meant every form of worship except his own.

A description of the Lord's Supper in the then Puritan fashion may end Sewall's notes in this line.

"Sabbath May 5, 1689. Went to Dr. Annesly's [noted among the ejected ministers] in little St Helena's with Cap. Hutchinson where the Lord's Supper was administered. The Dr. went all over the meeting first, to see who was there, then spake something of the sermon, then read the words of institution, then prayed and eat and drunk himself, then gave to every one with his own hand, dropping pertinent expressions. In our pew said, 'Now our Spikenard should give its smell;' and said to me 'Remember the death of Christ.' The wine was in quart glass bottles. The deacon followed the Doctor and when his cup was empty filled it again; as at our pew all had drunk but I, he filled the cup and then gave it me; said as he gave it — must be ready in new obedience and stick at nothing for Christ."

For English churches and the Prayer Book he shows an indifferent taste; but the great schools of Cambridge and Oxford interest him very much, probably for their classical lore, and because many of his personal friends and Puritan preachers had been therein educated. He took journeys to both places.

"Wednesday June 26. Mr. Mather, his son, cousin Hull and myself set out for Cambridge 45 miles; got thither by 7 o'clock with one set [of] 4 horses. Lay at the Red Lion."
"Thursday. Mr. Little of Emmanuel College shows us the gardens, walks, new chapel, gallery, library of the college, in it a Bible Mss. of Wickliffe's translation. Mr. John Cotton and Hooker had been fellows as appeared by tables hanging up. The street where it stands is called Preacher's street from Black Friars formerly resident there."

A clear case of Puritan nomenclature, which has probably long since been erased. He mentions, probably in astonishment, that this Fellow, who evidently took them round, had in his chamber pictures of Sir Roger Le Strange, Jesus Salvator, and King Charles II. hanging up together. It is clear from all we know of Sewall that he at least had no doubt that his Lord's picture was here found in very bad company.

"Saw St. Johns College which stands by the river. Hath a good library and many rarities among which was a petrified cheese. Trinity College is very large and the new case for the library very magnificent; paved with marble checkered black and white; under it a stately walk on brave stone; the square very large and in midst of it a fountain. In the hall many sparrows inhabit which is not known of any hall beside. At meal times they feed of crums and will approach very near men. Mr. Little dined with us at our inn: had leg of mutton boiled and Colley-Flowers [cauliflowers], carrets, roasted fowls and a dish of pease." "Three musicians came in, two harps and a viol and gave us music. Just before night our landlady's son had us along Bridge St. Went to the Prison and Session House, just by, which is very ordinary like a cow house, cattle having free egress and regress there. Gallows just by it in a dale, convenient for spectators to stand all round on the rising ground. In sum Cambridge is better than it shows for at first; the meanness of the town buildings and most of the colleges being brick." "June 28. Mr. Harwood and I stepped out and saw Queens College and in the garden a Dial on the ground — the hours cut in box. Over against it stands Catharine Hall, the printing room 60 foot long and 20 foot broad — six presses. Had my cousin Hull and my name printed there."

Sewall had always a bias in favor of printing-presses, using them to print his own writings and

others, and his name has been printed by them, not at his expense, probably nigh ten thousand times.

“As came homewards, saw Audley Inn or End—I can’t tell which is the right name. ’Tis a stately palace. Dined at Saffron Walden; went out and saw the saffron roots which are ten shillings the bushel; about an acre might yield an hundred pounds or more. Have a fair church. Went into the vault and saw the Earl of Suffolk’s coffin, who died January last. Stands on tres-sels and may see it on the outside at the grate. Outside is black velvet and a small plate of copper telling time of his death.”

In the early part of 1689 Sewall made most of his pilgrimages to his old friends and certain famous places out of London, as he has marked down thus:—

“1689. Wed^y Jany. 16. Came to London.”

“Wed^y Feby. 13. Went out.”

“Sat^y March 16 into London.”

“Thurs^y March 28 went out.”

“Monday April 15. Came into London.”

“Feb. 18. Bought a bay horse at Winchester fair for which am to pay four pounds. — A pr. boots, spurs &c 15s½. — a letter 2d. — tavern 6d.”

On the next day he bought bridle, saddle, saddle-cloth for 6s., and a new girt for 6d. He after paid 1s. 6d. for a whip. And he appears to have gone generally on horseback.

“Feby. 20. Saw the stone of my aunt Rider’s grave.”

“Feby. 21. Cousin Jane Holt came in the morning to invite me to dinner. Had very good bacon, veal and parsnips, very good shoulder of mutton and a fowl roasted, good currant suet pudding and the fairest dish of apples I have eat in England.”

This is probably a capital menu for English country folk in that age. Sewall was always sensitive about his fare, and the insight which he gives us into the current living of well-to-do people is interesting, if not amusing. He carefully writes it all down in such entries as these:—

“Eat part of two lobsters that cost 3. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. apiece [at a state dinner apparently]. As we came home were entertained by Mr. Stephen Mason with cider, ale, oysters and a neat’s tongue, being ten of us or eleven.”

Occasionally there are roast ducks and cherries. He notes green pease at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ l. per peck.

“Went to a garden at Mile End and drank currant and raspberry wine, then to the Dog and Partridge and played ninepins. At that house a soldier was shot by his drunken companion the night before.” “Had a dish of bacon with pigeons, sauce, beans and cabbage. Then roast veal-tarts. The governor came in and drank to us in a glass of ale that being the drink I chose and Mr. Brattle.” “Sep. 30. Mr. Bedford invited Mr. Brattle and me to dinner to Mr. Dracots’. Had a dish of fowls and bacon with livers; a dish of salt fish and a piece of mutton, cheese and fruit; no wine.” “Dined with very good beef, bacon and roast fowls.” “About 6 aclock, Mr. Mather, son and I supped on two dunghill fowls.” “Mr. Mather prays and we get to bed just at 9.” “At the Cheker have a hog’s cheek. Send for my cousins. I treat them with ale and wine but Uncle Richard will call for one pint and indeed Cousin Mercy Stork and he seem the most kind of all my relations.”

Very good fare, no doubt, all this; but what with the wild fowl, venison, and fish of Massachusetts Bay, Sewall was used to fare better at home.

"Feb^y 25. Went to Winchester in the morning and there met with letters from my dear wife and New England friends dated Jan^y last. Laus Deo. Viewed Winchester College. Left my Indian Bible and Mr. Mather's letter there. Went into the Hall and Arbor to see the choice of Knights of the Shire. It came to the poll, I offered my voice but was refused because I would not lay my hand on and kiss the Book though I offered to take my oath. [Sewall undoubtedly was a landowner there, but his Puritan scruple against taking his oath as the law was, forbade.] My rapier was broken short off I suppose coming down the steps. Feb^y 27. Rid to Salisbury. The chancellor's clerk showed me the Cathedral, Chapter House and Cloisters. Got the organist to give us some music. Showed as a strange thing (a bishop, I think) that lay north and south [the body was generally laid before the Reformation east and west, the head to the west, that so as it was thought in the resurrection the dead might rise looking towards the east, from whence the Lord was to appear in judgment]. The cathedral is very neat and stately. Two crosses in it. Candles on the Communion Table; so at Winchester. The bells hang in a steeple distant from the church. Tell us there are 12 small chapels for prayers every hour. The Bible over the passage that leads into the chorus [choir?] that so persons may hear on both sides. The spire is excellent for height and beauty. Dined with the chancellor's clerk. His lady gone to a christening to which she was invited but could not stay, but showed us in a manner her whole house, plate, library and bedding. Her daughter of four months old I took out of the cradle and kissed though asleep."

Sewall's pen writes him down as a lover of children; and in England he seems to have played the *rôle* of my Lord Bountiful among the little men and maids related to him when he met them. He gave them buckles, gloves, spoons, primers, shillings, linen, silk stockings, etc., with a Puritan modicum of kisses thrown in to boot. This mostly appears from the items of his cash account preserved in the year's

almanac. He has an honest eye for young people generally. Under date of March 7 writes :—

“Went home with Jane Kirby, Cousin Thomas Holt’s mistress; but I knew it not till I met her. It being late I observed a boy run parallel with us in the grounds and asked her about it. I took him up [on horseback?] and when set him down by the mill, lent him half a crown to buy paper and quills, told him if he learned to write and read well, ’twas his; if not I must have it again with I know not how much interest and put him to a great deal of trouble.” “The tenant’s wife [on his farm at Lee] teaches scholars. One was reading whom I marked and gave them 6*d.* to buy apples.”

Happy children with russet, or rosy, or golden apples! And peace be to the man who gave the sixpence, and wrote it down in his almanac, as a thrifty New Englander should!

“Saturday March 9. Ride to Tichfield, view the church and Oake’s pulpit, removed from the pillar where it stood in his time to the other side. Sexton spoke much in his praise, and inquired after his children. Saw Miss Bromfield’s monument who died in 1618. Dined with Cousin Thomas Dummer and bought the first pound of tobacco which he sold in a fair.”

If Samuel Sewall smoked, it was a meditative performance in creature comforts which the statute laws of Puritans never forbade. Clay pipes were, and continued to be, imported from the very start.

The next day after Sewall’s first return to London the Lord Mayor died, Sunday, March 17.

“Monday [he writes] went and saw the Jews burying place at Mile End. Some bodies were laid east and west; but now all are ordered to be laid north and south. Many tombs. Engrav-

ings are Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, English, sometimes on the same stone. Part of the ground is improved as a garden — the dead are carried through the keeper's house. First tomb is about the year 1659. Brick wall built about part. I told the keeper afterwards that I wished we might meet in heaven. He answered and we drink a glass of beer together, which we were then doing."

The Jews, as evidently that chosen people from whom the Puritans had taken the pattern of their theocratic government and their conversion, were to forerun the second appearing of that Redeemer whom the Puritans fondly hoped might come suddenly "as a thief in the night" to their waiting distress. Hence probably Sewall's interest.

According to the above schedule of travel, Sewall again went out with Mather and their two sons, each named Samuel, on a mixed business and pleasure tour, the objective point being Oxford.

[March 28.] "Sam and I went to Bray Church and writ out two epitaphs by candlelight." "Saturday March 30. Mr. Mather and we ride in the coach to Oxford, 5 miles, little ones, costs us 12s. of which I pay 5 and Mr. Mather the rest. At New College eat and drank ale, wine, Lent cakes full of currants, good butter and cheese, by means of Mr. Benj. Cutler, the butler to whom Dr. Woodward sent a letter on my behalf." "About 300 soldiers come to town; so the horses were pressed and we could not get out. Mr. Holland [a Fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford] shows me his chamber, cellar, library &c. Said Holland treated me very civilly though I told him I was a New England man" [i.e., a rank Puritan].

"Warwick. April 5. St Mary's Chapel. Richard Beaucamp's statue in brass, very lively, veins and nails of his hands."

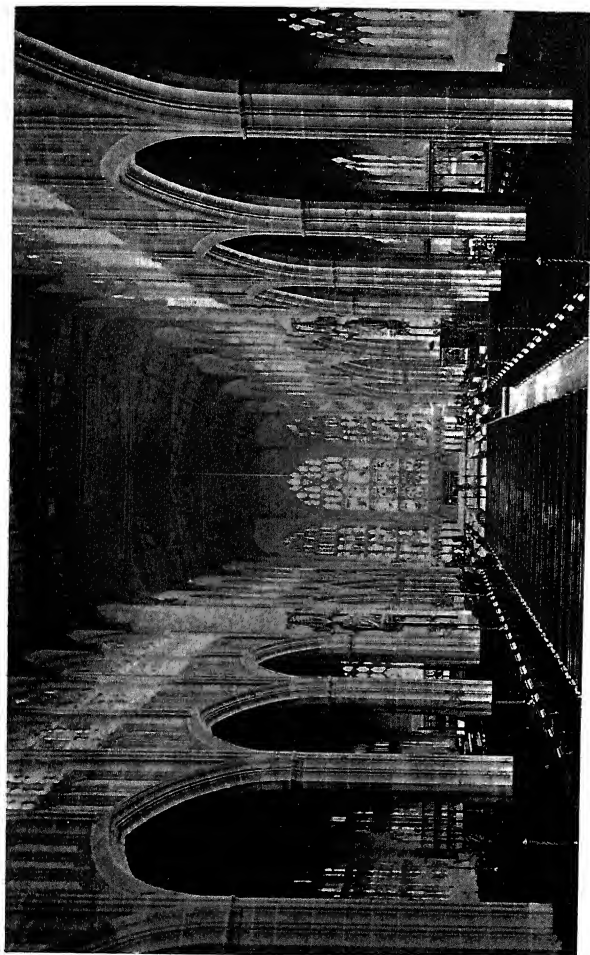
Sewall now goes to Coventry, where his family were of old and held office. Visits the churches and the town hall where his great grandfather had been mayor; also his relatives. With an eye to business he offers to confirm certain land property which had been willed them. "Lapworth [his cousin's husband] said he would not give 3*d*." Owing either to the manners of the times or some family wrangle, it certainly looks from this entry, as from other things which Sewall lets drop, as if he and his relatives, at least a part of them, did not get on well together. Sewall, of course, is fond of music, which he always sets going when he can, as he notes:—

"Went and dined with Cousin Allen, with beans, bacon and a very good line veal roasted. Beans 5*d* a quart. Cousin Sarah played on her flute. Cousin Atwell sings well."

The musicians of his ancestral city took occasion to do him honor, and probably put money in their purse.

"Had three of the city Waits bid me good morrow with their wind music." "About 200 soldiers I saw drawn forth to the westward of the town which had their drums, cross a horse neck [probably a white cross on their horse trappings] and a trumpet. In the Lords hall Guy's pot was filled with brandy punch; when in the field heard the volleys and huzzas, the Pope carried about."

The weeks between his country journeys, spent in London we judge from his *Diary*, were given up to a very vigorous course of sight-seeing and attempts to manage for the benefit of Puritan politics in New



INTERIOR OF ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, LOOKING EAST.

England. They were stirring times. James II. had just gone out, and Dutch William, with James's daughter, now reigned. The old fires of religious rancor only smouldered; the Pope was acutely abhorred of most "true-born" Englishmen, and from such repeated overturns of the throne as there had been in the last forty years, there had grown up a widespread sense of uncertainty and insecurity. Soldiers were moving about, foreign spies, and perhaps home traitors, were abroad, and the future was clouded. Sewall's home was in the west, and his interests also, except as they might be affected by arbitrary power in London; and so at much of what went on about him he looked with an indifferent eye. Only he looked straight into the masquerade of life in London streets, and the genial and human part of him reached beyond his religious asceticism to fraternize with his kind at their toil or pastime. He went to the Tower, Guild Hall, St. Paul's; saw a city election, "which the sheriffs, with their gold chains, managed;" heard the Mayor's speech;

"saw [Feb. 12] the Princess [Anne] pass in her barge ancients and streamers of ships flying, bells ringing, guns roaring." "April 30. Queen's birthday. Streamers, flags, guns. Spent 4s. 3d. in going to Greenwich." "May 27. Saw the Dutch ambassadors make their public entrance. Came up through Crouched? Friars were about 50 coaches, with 6 horses apiece, besides pages on foot and youths on horseback. The main streets thwacked [packed?] with people and yet little mess of people in Fen Church and Lombard streets."

He goes off with Mr. Brattle to swim in Thames

(July 8) from the Temple stairs, and had a wherry to wait on them.

"I went in in my drawers." "Saw the Physick garden and in it among other things an olive tree, orange tree, cortex Peruvianus."

This was the garden for medical plants established at Chelsea, 1673, by the Company of Apothecaries. Sir Hans Sloane used and developed this garden in the interests of medical botany, and he it was who brought quinine into use.

He takes great interest in citizen and other soldiers, being, as we have seen, a soldier himself in Boston.

"July 16. Saw London Artillery pass by about 2 o'clock. Most had buff coats and feathers in their hats. Marched 5, 6, 7, and 8 in a rank. The pikes. Had music besides the drums." "July 23. The white regiment marches into the artillery ground of which the Lord Mayor is colonel and so they have the pre-eminence. Consist of eight companies, 14 or 15 hundred in the whole, perhaps. Some had silver head pieces." "Saw an ensign buried. The company was drawn up in one rank, — pikes, — next the house of mourning. When ready to go rank 6 came to funeral posture; colors covered with mourning went after pikes then captain, then parson and corps posted [or stacked] the pikes when the service was saying. Gave 3 volleys but saw not the colors open all the while."

We find him every now and then incommoded by the movement of the army, coming and going. At Plymouth, on his way home, (Sept. 23) : —

"Many soldiers march away to make room for Dr. Bolton's regiment lately come hither by sea. Two sergeants go out of our house and two other soldiers come in."

He visits the pillory, the law courts, and the gallows :—

“July 12. This day two stood in the pillory before the Royal Exchange for speaking against the government. They were exceedingly pelted with dirt and eggs. Another that stood for forgery had none thrown at him that I took notice of.” “Monday July 15. I rid to Tyburn and saw eighteen persons, 16 men and 2 women fall. They were unruly in the prison, which hastened their execution.”

Sewall generally brings up in a graveyard, if he does not set out from one at home and abroad. He tells us, for instance, that he saw the monument of Lockier in St. Mary's Ovary (died 1672), a very successful rich quack, one couplet on his stone being this :—

“His virtues and his pills are so well known
That envy can't confine them under stone.”

[July 9.] “Went to Stepney, saw Thomas Saffin's tomb [the son of a Bostonian who died and was lately buried here]. 50 shillings given for the grounds. 'Tis a very large burying place. Were to be 10 buried this night; we saw several graves open and the bones thick on the top. The Lord help me to improve my flesh, bones and spirits which are so soon to become useless and it may be exposed in one part or other of God's creation.”

On Thomas Saffin's tomb, who was evidently somebody, or the son of somebody, this quaint epitaph, noted and copied in the *Spectator*, October, 1712, was inscribed :—

“Here Thomas Saffin lies interrèd, why?
Born in New England did in London die;
Was the third son of right begat upon
His mother Martha, by his father John.

Much favored by his prince he 'gan to be
But nipt by death at the age of twenty-three;
Fatal to him was that we, smallpox, name
By which his mother and two brethren came
Also to breathe their last, nine years before
And now have left their father to deplore
The loss of all his children with his wife
Who was the joy and comfort of his life."

One main purpose of Sewall's visit to England connected itself with the current politics of New England, which was to secure safe land titles, which the withdrawal of the charter had made insecure. A letter of his to an English friend under date of April 26, states the case personally and succinctly:—

"There was Capⁿ John Hull of Boston in N.E. with whom in his lifetime you had some correspondence by way of merchandise. He died in Sep. 1683, leaving a widow and a daughter who is my wife, by whom I had an estate that might afford a comfortable subsistence according to our manner of living in New England. But since the vacating of the charter and erecting a government by commission, the title we have to our lands has been greatly defamed and undervalued; which had been greatly prejudicial to the inhabitants, because their lands, which were formerly the best part of their estate, became of very little value and consequently the owners of very little credit. Sir I am glad that you are returned again to England, to your country, possessions and dear relations and to your seat in parliament. I hope your former distresses will help you to sympathize with others in the like condition. I and several besides me are here far removed from our wives and children and have little heart to go home before some comfortable settlement obtained whereby we might be secured in the possession of our religion, liberty and property. I am informed some favorable votes have been passed in the House of Commons wherein N.E. was mentioned. I intreat your forwarding of such votes,

as you have opportunity, in doing which you will be a partner with God who is wont to be concerned in relieving the oppressed. . . . My hearty service presented to you, I take leave, who am Sir your humble Servant, . . . SAM. SEWALL."

Thomas Papillon, M.P., to whom this letter was addressed, was of a Huguenot refugee family, and undoubtedly Puritan. Sometimes Sewall and his *confrères* in patriotism were obliged to answer to written or printed pamphlets, arraigning the colonists for misbehavior, — documents likely to be well received by the government after the restoration of Charles II., and in which, from the standpoint of the laws of the realm, the accusers had often strong ground to stand on.

"May 20. Met to answer the print and in the evening another accosts us, called an abstract of our repugnant laws, full of untruths almost as the former. To comfort me when got home met with a letter from my dear brother by way of Bilboa dated the 12 March; all friends and my wife and children well but New England bleeding. May 21 writ to Mr. Flavel of our N.E. affairs. He wrote and sent N.E. documents in behalf of his cause to those who were in station and ability to aid. He writes to me, 'I find it inconvenient to be out of the way because we that are here count it our duty, if we can in anything to assist Mr. Mather. If you come to town I should be glad to see you on the N.E. walk or at my chamber.'"

From which it incidentally appears that there was a "walk" or place in London where New England merchants, sea captains, and travellers might meet and confer. What exactly Sewall and the others with him accomplished it is hard to say. King William was Protestant to the core, and in religion was

their sympathizer; but the English law still stood above him and them, and no loyal man could afford to ignore the inroads which the Puritan *régime* in Boston was apparently disposed to make upon it. That the titles to their lands were made valid we know. What might have been worse we do not know. Perhaps, if it had not been for the presence of such men in London as Sewall and Mather, the colonists would have fared much worse than they did. But the fact that they never got back their old charter out of even the hands of their English Protestant friends goes very far to show that in the judgment of conservative English statesmen they were not entitled to the powers it gave them, nor were to be trusted with them.

Sewall now set about his return. In a roundabout way through Kent, and so down the Channel to Plymouth, from whence an excursion was made into Cornwall, he finally set sail out of Plymouth Sound, Oct. 11. Sewall's Journal in England is remarkable for what it leaves out. One would hardly gather from his pages that everywhere about him was a great national church, secure and dominant in the religion of the realm. Puritan as he was, he makes no mention either of John Milton or Cromwell, though their graves were there somewhere, covering the dust of the greatest of England's Puritans. Perhaps Sewall's caution made him close-mouthed. Certainly his was a judicious pen.

Sewall was always making presents to his friends, but he was also ready to save a penny when he

could, as a good many men after him have pinched themselves into a fortune, and then left at death, with an open hand, thousands to some noble charity. He, while in London, always got shaved by the quarter, because it was cheaper; yet he would give four crowns to Irish Protestants. He would give silver spoons, but would buy stockings where they made them, as cheapest. One would get a very good idea of the times and the cost of living by the study of the freight bills of what men like Sewall brought out and took home. An English Testament, Oxford print, costs 1s. 2d.; quire of paper, 6d.; hat for self and son, £2 7s.; four good muffs, £2 6s.; twelve bottles of beer, 10s.; map of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 10s. 6d.

“Went and was trimmed by Cousin Harry Ward and gave his wife who sat by him in the shop ½ doz. silver spoons marked E. W. 1689. Cost 63s. (weighing 10 oz. 11pt.), or at the rate of more than \$30 a dozen.”

The grand dames of Boston, as his cash account shows, were always sending over for spoons, and were not averse to the follies of English haberdashery.

“To a bed of straw to lay under my feather bed 2s. 9d.” [this was for the voyage.] “Sep. 26. Plymouth delivered to be washed 2 shirts, 2 handkerchiefs, 5 cravats, 1 cap and 1 binder.” [Did the Puritans wear as much linen as we?]

Ships in the way, “rogues,” or French enemies, sometimes in sight, — for there was now war with

France, — their armed convoy leaving them some hundred and twenty miles from land, some with measles, scurvy, and his friend Mr. Brattle spitting blood, the wind often in their teeth, a rough voyage concludes itself Nov. 29 in Piscataqua River (Portsmouth).

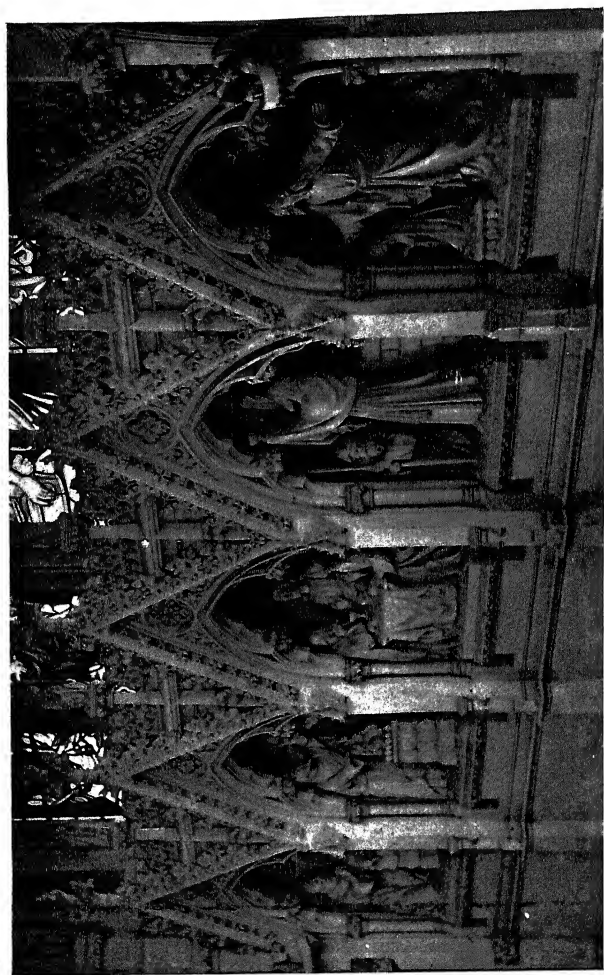
“Saturday, Nov. 30. Ride to Newbury. Friends there exceedingly glad to see me, being surprised at my coming that way.”

Let a single excerpt from Sewall's Diary conclude his visit to England :—

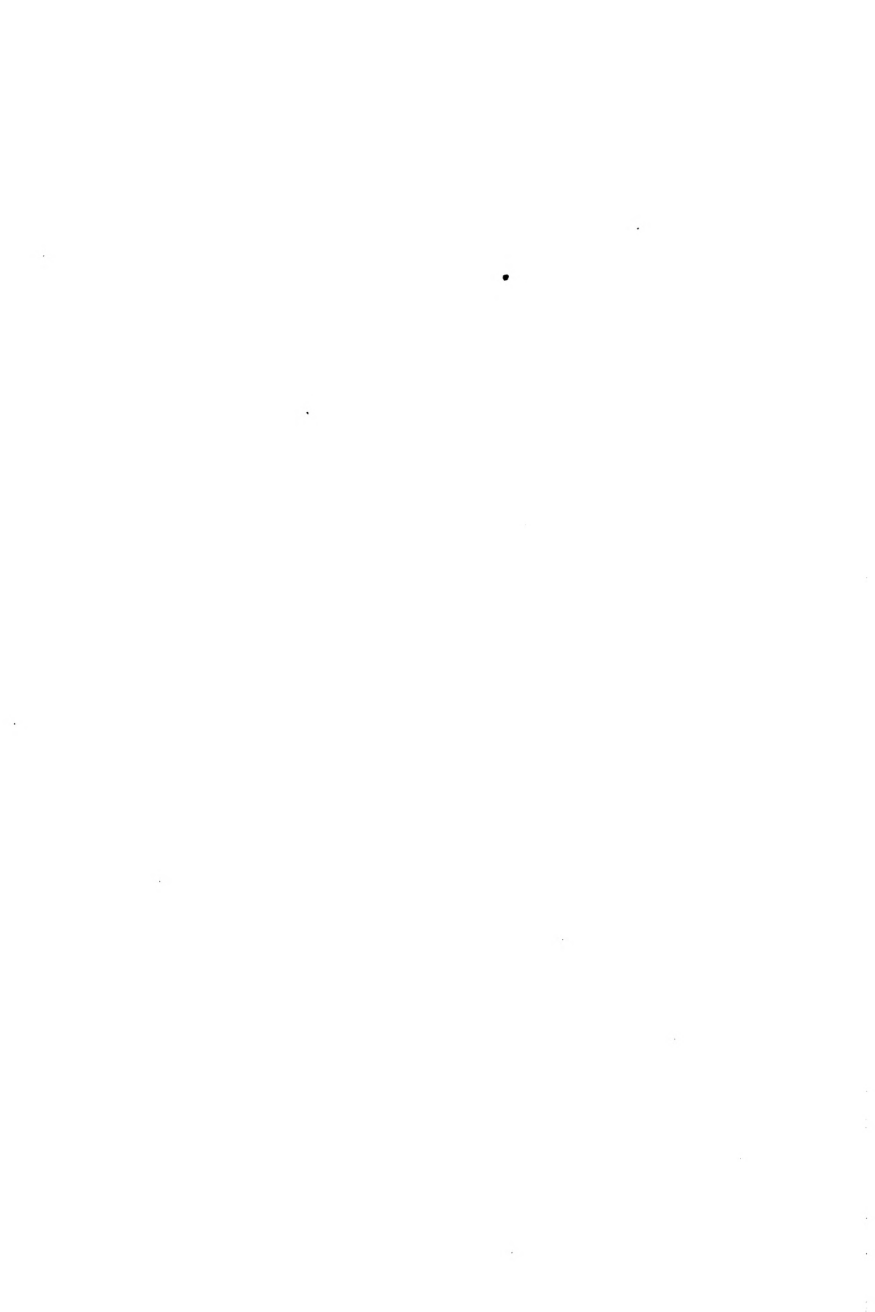
“Friday, Nov. 15. 9, morning. Sound and find ground in 45 or 50 fathoms. Bring the ship to and put out fishing lines. Mr. Fanuel only catches a good cod, which had several small fish in him, supposed to be anchovies. Very foggy weather. Judge are on the southermost point of the Bank. And now we have tasted afresh of American fare. Lord give me to taste more of thyself everywhere, always adequately good.”



A SEWALL PORTRAIT.



KEREDOS, ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.



CHAPTER X.

SEWALL AND THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

"Why should I hate any man? He whom I hate is either good or bad. If he be good then am I wrong to hate him. If he be bad he will amend and so be saved, or else persevere in ill, and so everlastingly perish. If he shall be saved, why should I hate him whom eternally I must love? If he shall be damned, his pain shall be so great that rather we had cause to pity than to add affliction to affliction in hating and cursing him."

SIR THOMAS MORE.

"FIRST WITCH. Round about the cauldron go;
In the poison'd entrails throw. —
Toad, that under the cold stone
Days and nights hast thirty-one
Sweltered venom sleeping got,
Boil thou first i' the charm'd pot.
ALL. Double, double toil and trouble;
Fire, burn; and, cauldron, bubble.

.

MACBETH. Infected be the air whereon they ride,
And damned all those that trust them."

Macbeth.

THE Salem witchcraft business requires careful handling by those who would be just both to the sufferers and the offenders therein. Sewall's part in the matter was a brief though sad one, as one of the judges who pronounced sentence of death upon the innocent. A man with his large heart would never forget his hand in that strange misery until his

death's day. Nor is it without a certain filial love towards the dead, that shortly after decease his son moved in the General Court that inquiry should be made as to the conduct of the victims' families, looking towards some restitution, poor at best. The witches' "Salem" was as purely imaginary, so far as it went, as the one that Shakespeare makes to be with ill-odored and poisoned ingredients on an imaginary moor in Scotland; yet into that Sadron, out of the hands of that Puritan age and were poured some of the most mixed, unrighteous and poisonous motives of which probably the mind, in its most occult relationship to the body, has as yet shown itself capable of. Yet, sad to say, its bubbles turned to blood, and the smoke of this witches' incense creates a great stain among all lovers of New England folk until

There is, perhaps, no more valid canon of moral criticism than this, that the people of an age are to be judged as to conduct by the ethics and sentiment of that age, and by no other. Ancient Rome is not to be judged by the ethics of modern Europe. In judging the Salem witchcraft catastrophe must start with this postulate. But at that time the peoples of Christendom devoutly believed in witches, the English people being as stout of that delusion as any. English statute declared witches and witchcraft to be verities by the law, and so-called witchcraft a crime punishable with death. English judges had sentenced thousands of

women for the offence, and European tribunals had destroyed by due process of law hundreds of thousands of accused persons for what we know to be a purely imaginary felony. Very few Englishmen in the Puritan age disbelieved in witches. Even as late as 1840, in West Dorsetshire, England, there were people who undertook to argue that a prevailing sickness there was brought about by witchcraft. It is needless to note, perhaps, what the Old Testament holds in this matter.

The Puritans held with the rest, only with a more tenacious grip. This was natural ; we may well say, inevitable. This very attitude in church and state made them, more than most, doomed to the mistake. They held that they were God's chosen people in the wilderness just as actually as the Jews had been ; that they had honored Him by founding institutions based on His revealed law ; that they were His and He was theirs by a solemn compact ; that He was therefore cognizant of their every word and deed ; in minute oversight of His creatures, not even a sparrow fell to the ground unnoticed. When, therefore, an attack seemed to be in progress at Salem upon His church and people by His arch enemy the Devil, it was not simply an attack on them and their dearest aspirations, but on Him ; and they were bound, on penalty of being held traitors to Him in the Judgment Day, not to stand neutral, but to fight His battle by destroying witchcraft from the land. They could logically, as New England Puritans, do nothing else. It is argued every now and then that their

clergy were the chief malefactors in urging the people on to this wrong. That this point is not well taken ought to appear from the fact that in the Salem witchcraft, as indeed in everything else they put their hand to, as ought to appear in our whole colonial history, the Puritan clergy voiced and enforced with the power of an educated class the deliberate conscience and judgment of their own people, who fed them voluntarily and revered them greatly. If this were not so, how came it to pass that later on this same people parted from this same clergy both in politics and religion, and went their own way? With a few exceptions of the more fortunate-minded, the management at Salem was according to the consensus of the whole community. Cotton Mather is pointed to as one of the chief malefactors in inciting the Salem horrors. That Cotton Mather was a very human sort of man, and, therefore, sometimes blamable, may go without saying. But Cotton Mather actually agonized over the bewitched, or, as the ancient phrase went, "behagged," children, whom he took into his house in Boston in such a way as to remove all suspicion that he was juggling, or any way trying to do anything else than to probe to the bottom of the fact. To say that he was magnifying his office in order to hold his place in affairs, — an imputing of motives, — is not verified by the record. He, and most men about him, thought that any man who disbelieved in witches would disbelieve in the Devil; and that he who would disbelieve in the Devil would speedily come to disbelieve in God.

thing more as a proviso. The times were
for such an outbreak as that at Salem. They
out of joint politically, the charter being lost,
people were sore and apprehensive of some great
ity. They were in the slough of an unknown
tion. Besides, a new generation had sprung
born here, wonted from youth to hardship and
le, cruel from King Philip's War, less educated
their fathers, though of like faith, and actually
backward into a barbarism bred from the wil-
ss. Add to this the fact that the Puritan mind,
ritual things at least, was always high-strung, so
s vibrations were likely to be unnaturally acute,
certainly looks as if no epoch in our history
provocative of an honest but fierce outburst
aticism as the year 1692, when nineteen per-
vere put to death at Salem for witchcraft.
is no place to tell the story, only to illustrate
narrate Judge Sewall's part in it. In brief,
children and half-grown women at Salem,
by a few base persons and an Indian, began
lamity by accusing some other persons — their
ors, generally — of bewitching them. Their
contortions, and physical distresses and general
ities, if stated, would seem incredible, if not
ible, to any one who had not read the record.
g shows like it in our history. The com-
rose *en masse* to inquire and to decide. It
ial by a mob, only the mob was pious. The
tions were in general, and, with a few excep-
against respectable people, and finally reached

far and wide, touching the best, — magistrates and ministers, or their wives. Then the fierce flame burned itself out, and there were graves, gallows, broken families, ruined fortunes, and misery for generations as a residuum. Here it is only intended by some extracts from the court documents to open the gates for a while upon this untold and untellable tragedy. The preliminary court of inquiry assumed from the start two things, — the honesty of the accusers and the guilt of the accused, as was natural in such a stark delusion, but very poor form in law. Children were accused; a man was charged with bewitching a dog. He barely escaped with his life. They killed the dog, — which was certainly a less expense in judgment than though it had been a cow. It was made a point against the innocence of Giles Corey's wife, one of the accused, that she was seen so often on her knees to God that she certainly must be in the service of the Devil. It was put in argument against Rev. George Burroughs, evidently a patient, sweet, but athletic clergyman, that his feats in running and handling heavy weights were beyond those of mortal man, unless assisted by the Devil. What we should say were proofs of innocence were taken for the contrary. It was a whole community acting as the prosecuting attorney in a court which judged the case against the defendants before it sat, in a court-house become an asylum for almost every one except the innocent, and with no keeper for the insane! The preliminary court of inquiry opened and closed with prayers against the accused, and

when any one of the latter, in turn, wished "to go to prayer," as the phrase was, to pray God's help and justice on his side, he was denied. Those who confessed escaped; those who protested innocence were committed without bail. While in jail, awaiting trial, they were generally excommunicated by the churches to which they belonged. The citizens of Gloucester actually shut themselves up in their stockade fort, expecting an attack from the devils in force.

A few extracts from the records of the inferior court may serve to disclose the madness:—

EXAMINATION OF A CHILD WITCH.

Q. How long have you been a witch? Ever since I was six years old. How old are you now? Near eight years old; brother Richard says I shall be eight years old in November next. Who made you a witch? My mother. She made me set my hand to a book. How did you set your hand to it? I touched it with my fingers and the book was red; the paper of it was white. She said she had never seen "the Black Man,"—i.e., the Devil,—but she had touched the book, and so become the Devil's own in Andrew Foster's pasture, and that her mother, cousin, and aunt among others were there.

Q. What did they promise to give you?

A. A black dog. Did the dog ever come to you? No. But you said you saw a cat once—what did that say to you? It said it would tear me in pieces if I would not set my hand to the book. She said further, her mother baptized her, and the Devil or "black man" was not there as she saw, and her mother said when she baptized her, "Thou art mine forever and ever, Amen."

But Martha Currier defended herself with an honest woman's anger. She denied everything in every particular; that she had ever seen or dealt with the Devil, or hurt any one. She said to the magistrates, "It is a shameful thing that you should mind

these folks who are out of their wits ;" and turning to her accusers, now resting from their fits a little, cried, " You lie! I am wronged." Her courage threw the great crowd into uproar ; and the record closes in these words : " The tortures of the afflicted were so great that there was no enduring of it, so that she was ordered away, and to be bound hand and foot with all expedition ; the afflicted in the meanwhile, almost killed, to the great trouble of all spectators, magistrates, and others."

The magistrates were told by one of the witnesses, out of court, that the accused confessed to her that " she had been a witch these 40 years."

She also deposed that she afflicted persons by pinching them ; that she had no images or " puppets " of these persons by her, but that she went to them, not in her body, but in her spirit, and that her mother carried her to the place of mischief. Being further asked, " How did your mother carry you when she was in prison ? " she replied, " She came like a black cat." How did you know it was your mother ? The cat told me so ; that she was my mother. " The confession " of another infant of this same mother runs thus : Have you been in the Devil's snare ? Yes. Is your brother Andrew ensnared by the Devil's snare ? Yes. How long has your brother been a witch ? Near a month. How long have you been a witch ? Not long. She afterwards added to her last answer, " About five weeks." Rather young witches, anyway, this Sarah and Andrew also, and Simon Willard clerk writes of this ghastly nonsense " This is the substance."

SIMON WILLARD.

The wife of honest shipmaster Cap. Cary of Charlestown was also accused and May (24) he went down with his Elizabeth to face the danger. They attended Court. " The prisoners Cap. Cary says were placed 7 or 8 feet from the justices and the accusers between the justices and them. The prisoners were ordered to stand right before the justices, with an officer appointed to hold each hand, lest they should therewith afflict them ; and the prisoners' eyes must be constantly on the justices ; for if they looked on the afflicted they would either fall into fits or cry out of being hurt by them."

Elizabeth Cary was in due form cried out on by two girls in

the court room and on arrest told the judges that she never had any knowledge of them before that day. Now comes, in that old sailor's story, touches of human love and pathos, still sweet and tender in the sympathy of those who after two hundred years read the record. "She was forced to stand with her arms stretched out. I requested that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the tears from her eyes and the sweat from her face, which I did. Then she desired that she might lean herself on me, saying she should faint. Justice Hathorne replied that she had strength enough to torment these persons and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings they commanded me to be silent or else I should be turned out of the room. The Indian, before mentioned, was also brought in to be one of her accusers; being come in he now (when before the justices) fell down and tumbled about like a hog but said nothing." This was a fellow whom just before in the tavern the Captain had treated to some cider and he had made no charge against his wife. "The justices asked the girls who afflicted the Indian; they answered she, meaning my wife. The judges ordered her to touch him in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, lest instead of curing she should make him worse by her looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his." What followed had better be left in the old records. . . . "I being troubled at their inhuman dealings, uttered a hasty speech That God would take vengeance on them and desired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men. Then her *mittimus* was writ. I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a room, but no beds in it; if there had been," he adds naively, "Could have taken but little rest that night." She was committed to Boston prison; but I obtained a *habeas corpus* to remove her to Cambridge prison. Having been there one night the jailer put irons on her legs (having received such a command;) the weight of them was about 8 pounds; these irons and her other afflictions soon brought her into convulsion fits, so that I thought she would have died that night. I sent to entreat that the irons might be taken off but all entreaties

were in vain. The trials at Salem coming on I went thither to see how things were managed; and finding that the spectre evidence was there received together with idle if not malicious stories against people's lives I did easily perceive which way the rest would go. I acquainted her with her danger and that if she were carried to Salem to be tried I feared she would never return. I did my utmost that she might have her trial in our own County; I with several others petitioning the judge for it; but I soon saw so much that I understood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon consulting the means of her escape which through the goodness of God was effected. She escaped first to Rhode Island and then as a safer place to New York where Gov. Fletcher was very courteous to us." "They, the accused had trials of cruel mockings, which is the more considering what a people for religion, I mean the profession of it, we have been, those that suffered being many of them church members and most of them unspotted in their conversation till their adversary the Devil took up this method for accusing them."

JONATHAN CARY.

By the Provincial Charter of 1691 Sewall had been appointed one of the Council, an office to which he was annually chosen till 1725, when he was re-elected, but declined to serve, having outlived all the other councillors then appointed with him. All through March, 1692, the Salem fury had been gathering head; and on April 11, probably as a magistrate, he went down, in company with the lieutenant-governor and four others, to look into the matter.

"Went to Salem where in the meeting house the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; was a very great assembly; 'twas awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated. Mr. Noyes prayed at the beginning and Mr. Higginson concluded."

A rather rustic event in the life of a rich man like Sewall, living in Boston, and noted down by him under date of Saturday, Feb. 27, may perhaps illustrate the abnormal excitement of men's minds, and apprehension of coming evil, running close upon a panic, before pointed out :—

“Between 4 and 5 morning we are startled at the roaring of a beast, which I conjectured to be an ox broken loose from a butcher, running along the street, but proved to be our own cow bitten by a dog, so that were forced to kill her; though calved but Jan. 4th and gives plenty of milk. Happy are they who have God for their spring and breast of supplies.”

The men who could turn from a cow bit by a dog to God for mercy would be very likely to look out to Him and for Him in so strange a matter as the Salem misery.

There were now nearly one hundred accused persons in jail, and worse threatened. Governor Phipps, on his return from his Eastern expedition, found himself forced, by public opinion, to appoint a special commission of oyer and terminer to try these cases, of which Stoughton was chief-justice, with six associates, including Sewall. This court substantially was the government of the Province, so great was the solemnity thought to be. They were appointed June 13, 1692, and for the counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex. This court met at Salem in June and August, sending some nineteen persons to death. After the executions of Sept. 22, they adjourned to meet a few weeks later; but they met no more. In January, 1693, the grand jury brought

in bills against some fifty persons; but all were acquitted except three, and they were reprieved. None who confessed were brought to trial. May, 1693, Governor Phipps, by proclamation, discharged all those in jail, and the delusion vanished as rapidly as it had spread.

With the exception of an entry April 11, there are no entries in Sewall's Diary for the three months of April, May, and June, when the excitement was at its height. The entries elsewhere in his journal touching this matter are few, and generally very brief. He evidently was ashamed, cast down, full of sorrow, and probably afraid of personal prosecution and loss of property at the hands of the survivors suing for damages. The court he belonged to was no doubt illegal, and its proceedings, as judged by the ethics of English law, more than questionable. From other sources, however, we can gain insight as to how things went on in court. First of all, neither he nor his associates were lawyers nor conversant with right legal procedure; although a high modern legal authority is of opinion that Sewall was the best of his associates. Indeed, as their law based itself on the Jewish Scriptures, ministers, not lawyers, were the best expounders of the same, and the common law of England was at a discount. Therefore lawyers were systematically discountenanced, and orders are not wanting by which they were to be heavily fined if their plea was over an hour in length. The prosecuting attorney at Salem was a lawyer, and the court assisted. There was very much testimony before the

court, but very little evidence. One of the rulings of Chief-Justice Stoughton ought to be remembered. He told the jury "that the Devil could not appear in the form of any one who was not in league with him. It followed, therefore, as the Devil had appeared in the form of many of the accused, according to the eye-witnesses there, the defendants must be guilty." But in this Stoughton must have forgotten his Scriptures, which speak of Satan sometimes appearing as "an angel of light." It was a fatal court to every one, though Stoughton stuck to it all his life that right had been done, and resigned his place on the bench rather than even tacitly allow the opposite.

Under date of July 20, Sewall writes: "Fast at the house of Capt. Alden," etc. Alden, the son of the Plymouth Pilgrim, "the tall man in Boston," as his accusers called him, for thirty years a respected member of the South Church, a brave seaman in command of the colony's armed vessels, doing noble service in the French and Indian wars, and seventy years of age, was now in jail for witchcraft. May 31 he had gone down and met his accusers at Salem,— "a group of wenches playing their juggling tricks," as he describes them, who charged him with afflicting, after the manner of witches, people whom he had never seen nor known. The honest indignation and "sea language" which he apparently used upon them did not save him from being sent to Boston jail, where he now was while Sewall, his fellow-parishioner and judge, was holding a fast with

Revs. Cotton Mather and Willard, and a galaxy of Puritan church-members, at the captain's house for the latter's salvation. It is incredible that there should be hypocrisy of this quality on earth. But if we suppose them honest, then their Puritan behavior at Salem must at least have been honest also. After fifteen weeks in jail, Captain Alden escaped to Plymouth Colony, and probably died in his bed.

"July 30. Mrs. Cary makes her escape out of Cambridge prison who was committed for witchcraft." [That lady's story has been told before.]

"Aug. 19. This day George Burroughs, John Willard, J^{no} Procter, Martha Currier and George Jacobs were executed at Salem, a very great number of spectators being present. Mr. Cotton Mather was there, Mr. Sims, Hale, Noyes and Cheever, [ministers]. All of them said they were innocent, Currier and all. Mr. Mather says they all died by a righteous sentence. Mr. Burroughs by his speech, prayer, protestation of his innocence, did much move unthinking persons which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed."

Most of which is no doubt true, though Cotton Mather is wrong as usual. This day the victims had been hung; men and women, drawn a long way from jail in a big wagon which "stalled" or broke down, over a rough road to the highest hill thereabouts, with its jagged rocks thrust through the thin soil, clad in the gray mosses which grow there ever since, from that eminence overlooking the summer land and sea of their wild Essex, to go asking justice from some One, if there were justice either below or above the stars, and the charity which had been denied them here. They all died stoutly, as Sewall

writes. Burroughs had been his friend, and had dined with him years before, as his Diary tells. Stripped of his prison clothes in that death whose majesty the rags they clad him in could not obscure, — uncoffined body flung into the shallow grave the rocky ledge allowed him, on that gallows' plot of shame, — his right arm stiffened until it rotted or dogs tore it, was seen as if pointing to those heavens where "the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." There are no witches that we know of. But if there were, there is perhaps no spot in all this West where they should be more at home in the weird desolation of their barren and uncanny lives than that same belt of rocky moorland, south of Salem city as it remains to-day; gray, mossy, rock-crested, with its long, narrow glens creeping in among the hills, yet seeming to have gone and going nowhere, down into which the scattered cedars of funeral plumage seem to speer as sentinels on watch for something which they never find — that land at whose west gate two centuries ago Puritan sincerity in a sad mistake built the Witches' Gallows.

"Monday, Sept. 19, 1692. About noon, at Salem Giles Corey was pressed to death for standing mute."

This execution is unique in American annals. By English law, a man might be pressed to death if he refused to plead *yea* or *nay* to his indictment. In case of a recalcitrant prisoner, he was brought three times into court and told the penalty. Remaining obstinate, he was then to be laid bound hand and

foot on the floor of his prison cell, with heavy iron weights on his body. The first day he was to have three morsels of the worst bread for food, and the second day three draughts of standing water found nearest the prison walls ; and so weights were added until he died. Giles Corey had a somewhat unsavory reputation, well or ill earned it is hard to say, and was a downright man in his will, and, when touched, in his heart. When his wife was accused of witchcraft he was first inclined to stand against her ; but her piety and sad end brought him to flout the whole business as a wrong. Very naturally he had his turn as an accused wizard. If he pleaded not guilty he knew he was sure to be condemned, and to confess that he was a wizard was not in him. There was a dilemma here. For if he had pleaded and been condemned he expected his property would be confiscated and his heirs impoverished. He made his will in prison, and held his tongue. They pressed him to death, — somewhere, tradition has it, in the rocky fields of the others' doom ; and the same tradition reports that in his agony he cried out to put on more rocks, as he would never plead. There is an old saw which says that time has two ages ; one in which men of oak build houses of willow, and the other when men of willow build houses of oak. Giles Corey must have been a man of oak, however housed. There was a certain grim thrift which followed the Puritan even in his dealings with accused persons. He insisted that men should pay their own. Those who were released from jail paid

their own charges, — for chains, board, and court fees. Many were ruined in consequence; and their descendants, counted now among the most respected, are entitled to cherish their memories.

Sewall cherished his memories thereof. Signs multiplied of a reaction. Oct. 26, 1692, he writes : —

“A bill is sent in about calling a fast and convocation of ministers that may be led in the right way as to the witchcrafts. The season and manner of doing it is such that the Court of Oyer and Terminer count themselves thereby dismissed, 29 noes and 33 yeas to the bill.”

“Dec. 24. Sam recites to me in Latin Math. 12 from the 6th to the end of the 12th. The 7th verse did awfully bring to mind the Salem Tragedy.”

That verse is this: “If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless.”

There were those who would have had the Salem court and its abettors pursued and punished for their mistake. How near they were to doing so cannot now be known, nor just why they failed. Their stand was at least stout enough to compel the legislature, in what looks like a penitence somewhat late, to appoint a fast Jan. 14, 1697, for what had been done amiss “in the late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments, through the awful judgment of God.” Since witchcraft times, Sewall had lost several little children; and at this fast, like the brave, honest-hearted man he was, he put up the following petition in his own parish meeting-house, “standing up at the reading of it and bowing when finished :” —

"Copy of the bill I put up on the fast day, giving it to Mr. Willard as he passed by, and standing up at the reading of it and bowing when finished; in the afternoon.

"Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family and being sensible that as to the guilt contracted upon the opening of the late Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem (to which the order of this day relates,) he is upon many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, desires to take the blame and shame of it, asking pardon of men and especially desiring prayers that God who has an unlimited authority would pardon that sin and all other, his sins, personal and relative and according to his infinite benignity and sovereignty not visit the sin of him or of any other upon himself or any of his, nor upon the land; but that he would powerfully defend him against all temptations to sin for the future and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving conduct of his word and Spirit."

What, then, as a study in psychology, was the Salem witchcraft? No one nor a dozen definitions can ever expose all its substances. That it was a true witches' caldron like that which Shakespeare fancies, in the strange mixture bubbling in it, compounded partly out of the base passions of "envy, hatred, and malice," and tinged with human delusions running as low as African Voodooism and Indian superstition, will be allowed by all who have looked into the matter. That the accusers—children, and Puritan children to boot—sometimes lied, showed cunning and deceit, may be also granted. Yet the limitation must be at once applied even to that admission. These very children were growing up in an atmosphere where one who did not believe in witches would be a wonder. Beginning first with

some silly pastime of fortune-telling maybe, of an age and sex liable to very acute vibrations of their nervous energy, epileptic to a degree in some one of the many forms that disease assumes, brought into notoriety before a public whose credulity only heightened their physical and mental mania, perhaps growing vain of their recognition by persons in authority, testifying before crowds, and become centres of interest, — was it anything strange if they came to mistake, and even deceive themselves? that what at first in their minds was a spasm of mental aberration came to be thought by themselves to be truth, and truth which involved itself with the machinations of the Devil? If one should say in rebuttal that the accusers were often proved to be liars, the answer is that in insanity itself it is often impossible to say when the patient is or is not a responsible being, and that if these children were in any wise insane, they are not to be set down as mere impostors.

The matter certainly runs deeper. The human mind, in its relation with the body, is to-day, and always has been, the *Terra Incognita*, the "Dark Continent," even to science, as is shown in the phenomena of mesmerism, and what calls itself spiritualism. This mystery is heightened when such complex human creatures are brought together in masses under excitement such as is often seen in revivals. An excited crowd lays its stress on every one composing it, and incites to imitation. Even a mother watching her child's convulsions often finds it hard work to resist the impulse to suffer likewise. Un-

doubtedly a certain physical and mental atmosphere often aids in the outbreak of some kind of mania, such as the Salem witchcraft was. For proof of this we have only to look at certain undoubted historical facts in mediæval times ; such, for instance as the "Dancing Mania," — a sort of epidemic disease allied to hysteria, and evidently the result of imitative emotions acting upon susceptible subjects under the influence of a craving for sympathy or notoriety. As to this mania, there is evidence to show that there was much imposture, and also much real convulsion suffering beyond the control of the will. Such convulsions were common in Germany, Italy, and Austria, where the dancing dervishes are still a standard example of what is partly disease. They even exist in religious excitements sometimes now. In June 1374, at Aix-la-Chapelle, there appeared an assembly of men and women who, made frantic by the celebration of St. John's Day, began to dance on the streets, screaming and foaming like persons possessed. This mania varied in form according to mental, local, or religious conditions. The dancers were insensible to external impressions, but had visions of blood, the Saviour, the Virgin Mary, etc., and danced in a wild delirium till they fell from exhaustion, groaning as if in death. Some dashed out their brains against the walls. The mania spread over the Low Countries, and as far south as Strasbourg ; wherever the dancers went, many from contagion joined them. It was remarked that this mania spread among people kept on a low diet, or diseased, mentally dis-

tressed, and prone to religious excitements, all of which elements inhered, as we have seen, in the Salem misery. The religious rite of exorcism, as then had, proved an efficacious remedy, at least in the beginning of the mania ; and Paracelsus, the great reformer of medicine in the sixteenth century, applied immersion in cold water with great succe

A tub of cold water in Salem meeting-house used, would have perhaps changed some of

dest pages in our colonial

showed itself in 17

tomb of a certain

“threw themselves

of body, rolled abou

beasts, and fishes, a

pletely spent themse

the king's order to i

stop the mischief, ar

the mania has show

submitted from all

mania is here, and

day relate it to thes

From all which, t

allowing for all the c

the baseness of any

actors in it, the Sale

viewed by the judici

to blame as pity.

CHAPTER XI.

CURRENT NEW ENGLAND LIFE FROM 1700 TO 1714.

"WEDNS'. Feby. 28, 1700. We ship off the iron chest of gold, pearls &c. 40 bales of East India goods, 13 hogsheads, chests and case, one negro man and an East Indian born at Ceylon. I look upon it as a great mercy of God, that the store house has not been broken up, no fire has happened. Agreed in the weight of gold with our former weight and had so comfortable a day at last to finish our work. Cap. Winn would not give a receipt till he had them on board the sloop Antonio, which rid off just without the Outward Wharf. Gave a receipt for the gold at Cap. Belchar's as soon as it was weighed."

This entry, of course, was about the pirate Robert Kidd's captured treasure, now in Boston, and thus being sent away. For those times, the amount was large, especially of specie. He was arrested in Boston, and £1,000 in gold and a bag of silver were seized at the same time. On information, they sent to Mr. Gardiner of Gardiner's Island in the Sound, and obtained gold, silver, and jewels, left there by Kidd, worth £4,500, and six bales of goods, one valued at £2,000; the total value being about £14,000. Kidd said he had more hid, as he probably had, and if let go at large would recover £50,000 to £60,000, hid by himself, which no one else could recover. He was not let go, for evident reasons, and Kidd was



A NEW ENGLAND HOUSE, ABOUT THE YEAR 1700.

among a great multitude like him, who managed to die in their beds in spite of English law. There was sometimes a crowd of such lawless men on the New England coast. Sewall's Diary shows that armed vessels were sent out after them again and again; and, worst of all, some of the law-breakers seem to have been of New England and Puritan stock.

"The Selling of Joseph," Sewall's anti-slavery tract, was published June 24, 1700. Considering the age, and brutal treatment of blacks by whites current everywhere in the world about him, and that New England then bought and sold slaves to its heart's content, this tract must always stand as a monument to Sewall's foresight and magnanimity of soul. It runs thus:—

"Forasmuch as liberty is in real value next unto life; none ought to part with it themselves, or deprive others of it but upon most mature consideration. The numerousness of slaves at this day in the Province and the uneasiness of them under their slavery hath put many upon thinking whether the foundation of it be firmly and well laid; so as to sustain the vast weight that is built upon it. It is most certain that all men as they are the sons of Adam, are coheirs; and have equal right unto liberty and all other outward comforts of life. God hath given the earth (with all its commodities) unto the sons of Adam. Psalm 115. 16. [He also quotes Acts xvii. 26, 27, 29.] Now although the title given by the last Adam doth infinitely better men's estates, respecting God and themselves; and grants them a most beneficial and unviolable lease under the broad seal of Heaven, who were before only tenants at will; yet through the indulgence of God to our first parents after the fall, the outward estate of all and every of their children remains the same, as to one another. So that originally and naturally there is no such thing as slavery. Joseph was rightfully no more a slave to his breth-

ren than they were to him; and they had no more authority to sell him than they had to slay him. And if they had nothing to do to sell him, the Ishmaelites bargaining with them and paying down twenty pieces of silver could not make a title. Neither could Potiphar have any better interest in him than the Ishmaelites had. Gen. 37. 20, 27, 28. For he that shall in this case plead alteration of property seems to have forfeited a great part of his own claim to humanity. There is no proportion between twenty pieces of silver and liberty. The commodity itself is the claimer. . . . 'Tis pity there should be more caution used in buying a horse or a little lifeless dust (gold) than there is in purchasing men and women; whereas they are the offspring of God and their liberty is '*auro pretiosior omni*' (more precious than gold). And seeing that God hath said 'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death,' Exod. 21. 16. This law being of everlasting equity, wherein manstealing is ranked amongst the most atrocious of capital crimes, what louder cry can be made of that celebrated warning, '*Caveat emptor!*' (let the buyer beware!).

"And all things considered, it would conduce more to the welfare of the Province to have white servants for a term of years than to have slaves for life. Few can endure to hear of a negro's being made free; and indeed they can seldom use their freedom well; yet their continual aspiring after their forbidden liberty renders them unwilling servants. And there is such a disparity in their conditions, color and hair, that they can never embody with us and grow up into orderly families to the peopling of the land. As many negroes as there are among us, so many empty places are there in our train bands, and the places taken up of men that might make husbands for our daughters. . . . It is likewise most lamentable to think how in taking negroes out of Africa and selling of them here that which God hath joined together men do boldly rend asunder; men from their country, husbands from their wives, parents from their children. How horrible is the uncleanness, mortality if not murder, that the ships are guilty of that bring great crowds of these miserable men and women. Methinks when

we are bemoaning the barbarous usage of our friends and kinsfolk in Africa [Sewall refers to Christians taken by the Algerines] it might not be unseasonable to enquire whether we are not culpable in forcing the Africans to become slaves among ourselves. And it may be a question, whether all the benefit received by negro slaves will balance the account of cash laid out upon them and for the redemption of our own enslaved friends out of Africa."

There is much more like, which can be read in the *Diary* (vol. ii, p. 18). This is remarkable doctrine for the age; and the logic of it made New England one hundred and fifty years later the hotbed of the anti-slavery movement which freed our slaves.

"Jany. 2, 1701. Just about break a day Jacob Amsden and 3 other trumpeters gave a blast with the trumpets on the Common near Mr. Alford's. Then went to the Green Chamber and sounded there till about sunrise. Bell man said these verses a little before break-a-day which I printed and gave them. The trumpeters cost me five pieces $\frac{8}{8}$ =".

These verses Sewall calls "My Verses on the New Century," and are here given:—

I

"Once more! Our God vouchsafe to shine:
Tame thou the rigor of our clime.
Make haste with thy impartial light
And terminate this long dark night.

2

Let the transplanted English vine
Spread further still; still call it thine;
Prune it with skill: for yield it can
More fruit to thee the husbandman.

3

Give the poor Indians eyes to see
The light of life; and set them free;

That they religion may profess
Denying all ungodliness.

4

From hard'ned Jews the veil remove,
Let them their martyr'd Jesus love;
And homage unto him afford
Because he is their rightful Lord.

5

So false religions shall decay
And darkness fly before bright day;
So men shall God in Christ adore;
And worship idols vain no more.

6

So Asia and Africa
Europa with America;
All four, in concert joined, shall sing
New songs of praise to Christ our King."

"May 29, 1701. This day a burlesque comes out upon Hull street, in a travestie construing my Latin verses."

"Monday, June 2, 1701. Mr. Pemberton preaches the Artillery Sermon from Luke 3. 14. Dine at Monks. Because of the rain and mist, this day the election is made upon the town house. Sewall Capt; Tho. Hutchinson Lieut.; Thos. Savage Jr. Ensign, &c.; Col. Pynchon gave the staves and ensign. I said was surprised to see they had mistaken a sorry pruning hook for a military spear; but paid such a deference to the company that would rather run the venture of exposing my own inability than to give any occasion to suspect I slighted their call, &c. Drew out before Mr. Usher's, gave three volleys. Drew into the town house again; sent Sergt Chauncey for Mr. Pemberton who said he was glad to see the staff in my hand; prayed with us. Had the company to my house treated them with bread, beer, wine sillabubs. They ordered Mr. Checkley and me to thank Mr. Pemberton for his sermon, which we did on Tuesday, desiring a copy."

Sewall had long served in other Boston companies. From all which it appears that on this occasion he

had been popular and hospitable as usual ; had made a judicious witty speech ; had listened to a current Puritan sermon ; and that, as usual, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company had neither gone hungry nor dry.

“ Oct. 20, 1701. Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkins' shop and there talked very sharply against me as if I had used his father worse than a neger ; spake so loud that people in the street might hear him. Then went and told Sam, that one pleaded much for negroes and he had used his father worse than a negro and told him that was his (Sam's) father. I had read in the morn Mr. Dod's saying ' Sanctified afflictions are good promotions.' I found it now a cordial. ' When my father and my mother forsake me then the Lord taketh me up.' Oct. 22. I with Major Walley and Capt Sam^l Checkley speak with Mr. Cotton Mather at Mr. Wilkins'. I expostulated with him from 1 Tim. 5. 1. Rebuke not an elder. He said he had considered that. I told him of his book of the Law of Kindness for the Tongue, whether this were correspondent with that. Whether correspondent with Christ's rule. He said having spoken to me before there was no need to speak to me again ; and so justified his reviling me behind my back. Charged the council with lying hypocrisy, tricks, and I know not what all. I asked him if it were done with that meekness as it should ; answered, yes. Charged the Council in general, and then showed my share, which was my speech in Council viz. If Mr. Mather [Increase, the father] should go again to Cambridge to reside there with a resolution not to read the Scriptures and expound in the Hall, I fear the example of it will do more hurt than his going thither will do good. This speech I owned. Said Mr. Corwin at Reading, upbraided him saying, This is the man you dedicate your books to. I asked him if I should suppose he had done something amiss in his church as an officer, whether it would be well for me to exclaim against him in the street for it. (Mr. Wilkins would fain have had him gone into the inner room but he would not.) I told him I conceived he had done

much unbecoming a minister of the Gospel and being called by Maxwell to the Council Major Walley and I went thither, leaving Capt Checkley there.

"Oct. 23. Mr. Increase Mather said at Mr. Wilkins' If I am a servant of Jesus Christ some great judgment will fall on Capt Sewall or his family. Oct. 24. I got Mr. Moody to copy out my speech and gave it to Mr. Wilkins that all might see what was the ground of Mr. Mather's anger. I perceive Mr. Wilkins carried his to Mr. Mather's. They seem to grow calm."

The Mathers were very able men of affairs. Increase Mather had been president of Harvard College, and while in that office, and indeed after, was substantially the head of the Puritan ministers. Nor did he ever knowingly hide his talents in a napkin. The presidency was now vacant, and Increase Mather would go back only on his own terms, which were not acceptable to men like Sewall. One of his conditions were, that he should retain his parish, and reside in Boston; really, that he should do exactly as he pleased in teaching when, where, and so much as he chose. This was evidently bad policy for everybody except him, and it lost him the place. The Mathers had and gave always reasons, such as they were, for their will; but the true reason here was undoubtedly that Increase Mather was unwilling to give up the flatteries and other perquisites of a Boston parish and a residence at the centre of affairs for the seclusion of Cambridge. His son very naturally took his side, and both came to grief accordingly. Yet perhaps no other two men, father and son, have ever exercised a wider or a more mixed influence on New England affairs than they. In the

present bitter quarrel, as recorded, Sewall's command of temper and the equities of his position had very much the best of the son.

"Monday, Oct. 6, 1701. Artillery trains in the afternoon. March with the company to the Elms. Go to prayer. March down and shoot at a mark. By far the most missed, as I did for the first. Were much contented with the exercise. I asked their acceptance of a half pike which they very kindly did. They would needs give me a volley in token of their respect on this occasion. The pike will, I suppose, stand me in forty shillings, being headed and shod with silver."

A Latin motto was engraved on it.

"Oct. 28, 1701. Mr. William Atwood takes the oaths &c. to qualify himself to exercise his authority here as Judge of the Admiralty. He asked for a Bible; but Mr. Cook said it was our custom to lift up the hand; then he said no more but used that ceremony. Thus a considerable part of executive authority is now gone out of the hands of New England men."

"IDEM. My wife treats. Boiled pork, beef, fowls: very good roastbeef, turkey pie, tarts."

"Feby. 21, 1702. Cap. Tim^o Clark tells me that a line drawn to the Comet strikes just upon Mexico, spake of a revolution there, how great a thing it would be. This blaze had put me much in mind of Mexico. I have long prayed for Mexico and of late in those words that God would open the Mexican fountain."

Sewall was always looking to the conversion of the world, especially of the Roman world, and of course to the conversion of the Spanish colonies to the south of him.

"May 4, 1702. Artillery company trains; rainy day. Marched out and shot at a mark. Before they began I told them that I had called them to shoot in October, and had not myself hit the

butt. I was willing to bring myself under a small fine, such as a single Justice might set; and it should be to him who made the best shot. I judged for Ensign Noyes and gave him a silver cup I had engraven; telling him it was in token for the value I had for that virtue in others which I myself could not attain to. Marched into the Common and concluded with prayer."

"May 28, 1702. Buffington from Newfoundland brings prints of the King's death March 8 at 8 M. Queen's speech to her Lords at St James. Then we resolved to proclaim her Majesty here, which was done accordingly below the town house. Regiment drawn up and Life Guard of horse, Council, representatives, ministers, justices, gentlemen taken within the Guard. Mr. Secretary, on foot, read the order of the Council &c. Mr. Sheriff Cookin gave it to the people. Volleys, guns. Went into the chamber to drink &c."

This entry marks the death of King William and the enthronement of Queen Anne, both events affecting the politics and administration of the Province, and that, on the whole, not favorably.

Next comes the new governor.

"June 11. Thursday before I was dressed Sam gave the word that Gov. Joseph Dudley was come. Go with Capt Crofts in his pinnace to meet the Governor and congratulate his arrival. We got aboard a little before he got within Point Alderton. Capt Heron introduced us. After all had saluted the Governor I said, Her Majesty's Council of this Province have commanded us to meet your Excellency and congratulate your safe arrival in the Massachusetts Bay, in quality of our governor; which we do very heartily, not only out of obedience to our masters who sent us, but also of our own accord. The clothes your Excellency sees us wear [they were in court mourning for King William] are a true indication of our inward grief for the departure of King William. Yet we desire to remember with thankfulness the goodness of God, who has at this time peaceably placed Queen Anne upon the throne. And as her Majesty's

name imports grace so we trust God will show her Majesty favor ; and her Majesty us. And we look upon your Excellency's being sent to us as a very fair first-fruit of it, for which we bless God and Queen Anne."

All of which is no doubt very graceful official courtesy, with the usual modicum of sincerity. Except as it interested the welfare of the Province, it is very doubtful whether Sewall and his associates cared a straw who reigned in England ; and Dudley very soon found out of what tough fibre these men were who stood before him, whenever he crossed their policy, as he often did. But in making his bow, Sewall kept his eyes wide open for signs, good or bad, in the governor's surroundings.

"The Lt Governor a stranger sent, whom we knew nor heard anything of before. [Povey, the one referred to, made not a long stay, returning in 1705.] I saw an ancient minister, enquiring who it was, Governor said it was G—— Keith, had converted many in England [to the Church of England, of course] and now Bishop of London had sent him hither with salary of 200 guineas pr annum. I looked on him as Helena [probably Helen of Troy who made so much mischief]. This man [mark the unsavory title] craved a blessing and returned thanks though there was the Chaplain of the ship and another minister on board."

There was also one other significant and distasteful observation that Sewall made : —

"Governor has a very large wigg." "Drink healths ; about one and twenty guns fired as we leave the ship and cheers ; then Capt Scott and another ship fired. Castle fired many guns ; landed at Scarlet's wharf, where the Council and regiment waited for us ; just before we came to the North Meeting

house, clock strick five. Marched to the town house. Then before the court, ministers and as many else as could crowd in the Governor's and Lt Governor's commissions were published. they took their oaths laying their hands on the Bible and after kissing it. Had a great treat."

There was a Bible here, it will be observed, though the poor king's attorney, Atwood, a short time before, on his oath-taking in Boston full of Bibles, was not granted one. But then, Dudley was nearer the throne, and no man to be trifled with, being of Puritan stock himself.

"Just about dark troops guarded the Governor to Roxbury. He rode in Major Hobby's coach drawn with six horses richly harnessed." "June 28. Governor partakes of the Lord's Supper at Roxbury. In the afternoon goes to Boston to hear Mr. Myles [the Church of England minister at King's Chapel] who inveighed vehemently against schism. June 29. The governor refused to let us give our Yes and No in papers."

This last entry is significant of Dudley. He laid a firm hand on the helm, but under was a crank Puritan ship.

"Oct. 26, 1702. Billerica. Visited languishing Mr. Saml Whiting, I gave him 2 balls of chocolate and a pound of figgs which he very kindly accepted."

"Dec. 30, 1702. I was weighed in Col. Byfield's scales, 193 pounds net. Col. B weighed 63 pounds more than I: had only my close coat on. The Lord add or take away from this our corporeal weight, so as shall be most advantageous for our spiritual growth."

"Feb. 3, 1703. I carried the news to Salem that was brought by Andrew Wilson from Oporto, eight weeks, of the extraordinary success of our fleet against the Flota in the river of Lisbon which we first heard of in part by the way of Cork."

This news was the success of the Dutch and English against the Spanish treasure fleet, the 22d of October, when much booty was had.

"Tuesday, Feby. 16, 1703. 2 P.M. Town meeting at Boston to choose representatives. Mr. Colman prayed. Voters 459. This was the most unanimous election that I remember to have seen in Boston and the most voters."

"March 16, 1703. Though all things look horribly winterly by reason of a great storm of snow, hardly yet over and much on the ground; yet the robins cheerfully utter their notes this morn. So should we patiently and cheerfully sing the praises of God and hope in his mercies though stormed by the last efforts of Anti-Christ."

"April 15, 1703. I heard Mr. Sherman had run a line within mine at Kibbe's. I got Deacon Moss, Tho^s Holbrook, Ebenezer Leland to go with me; Fairbank was also there. Went to my bounds, asserted them, in the presence of Mr. Lynde's tenants whom I sent for, then ordered Kibbe to pull up the stakes. Told Mr. Lynde's tenants what my bounds were, and that within them was my land; forewarned them of coming there to set any stakes or cut any wood."

"July 5, 1703. Coming home from Cambridge I ordered Mr. Sheriff to take up a scurvy post out of the middle of the highway that had been a nuisance for many years. Gave his son a shilling for his pains."

"Lord's Day, April 23, 1704. There is great firing at the town, ships, Castle upon account of its being the Coronation Day, which gives offence to many, to see the Lord's Day so profaned. Down Sabbath, up St. George."

"June 30, 1704. After dinner, about 3 P.M. went to see the execution. [Pirates.] Many were the people I saw upon Broughton's Hill. But when I came to see how the river was covered with people I was amazed. Some say there were 100 boats. 150 boats and canoes saith Cousin Moody of York. He told them. Mr. Cotton Mather came with Capt Quelch and six others for execution from the prison to Scarlet's wharf, and from thence in the boat to the place of execution. [The place was on the Bos-

ton side of the Charles River flats.] Mr. Bridge [a minister] was also there. When the scaffold was hoisted to a due height the seven malefactors went up; Mr. Mather prayed for them standing upon the boat. When the scaffold was let to sink there was such a screech of the women that my wife heard it, sitting in our entry next the orchard and was much surprised at it; yet the wind was S.W. Our house is a full mile from the place."

Once for all, we may remark on the Puritan treatment of criminals condemned to death. The judges often prayed and preached on passing sentence. On Sunday preceding an execution, or at the Thursday Lecture, the doomed culprit, heavily chained, was the subject of direct and special prayer and exhortation, and often of sharp objurgation, in the meeting-house crowded with curious, excited, and morbid spectators. Then followed the public procession, with the dread ministrations of law, through the streets, the criminal being drawn in a cart, with his coffin behind him. Women, shrieking and swooning, mingled in the throng which extended from the foot of the scaffold as far as the wretched spectacle was visible; and a broadside of gallows literature was peddled about. The Boston paper of that date said: "There were sermons preached in their hearing every day. And prayers daily made with them. And they were catechised. And they had many occasional exhortations." If the criminals were hardened men, all this must have been a slow torture, and they would have much preferred to be let alone. This batch of pirates was thought to have died very obdurately and impenitently, hardened in their sin. Captain Quelch, in his

dying speech, in a vein of grim humor warned the bystanders to beware "how they brought money into New England to be hanged for it." Some of these were probably of New England stock, and the captain's words may illustrate what has been before said of the sea ethics of privateers and adventurers. This account is mainly from the notes in the Diary, vol. ii., pp. 109, 110, 111.

Sewall's Diary connects him in another way with sea-robbers. He was greatly interested in the fate of New England Christians taken and made slaves by the Mohammedan pirates of the Barbary States. So, apparently, were the public; yet, except in Sewall, slight traces remain of this Christian philanthropy. Joshua Gee was one of these captives who, as the record shows, apparently was ransomed and returned to Boston, where he was a carpenter, and a man in whom Sewall always took an interest.

"I am sorry [he writes] that there is no news of honest Joshua Gee. The Turks' unjust detaining of him I believe helps to add some drops to those vials God is pouring out upon them."

"A friend of mine Mr. Joshua Gee who drank of Alger water and is good after it. He is a good man and has as considerable business as most carpenters in town."

Again he writes :—

"Twould be a very noble undertaking for the English nation for to redeem these miserable slaves; as it seems there is a report of such a thing. I pray you to use suitable applications that if there be any bounty money, ours, i.e. the New England captives, may share in it."

" March 29, 1703. By her Majesty's bounty all the captives are redeemed out of Salle."

Under date of March 29, 1699, there is an interesting record in Sewall's Letter Book of moneys collected for one Thomas Thatcher of Yarmouth, apparently a captive:—

" His relations £50.
Joshua Gee £50.
Hingham £10.
Barnstable £8. 14.
Sandwich £3. 8.
Yarmouth, Eastham Harwich £16. 5.
Judith Thatcher £9. 11.
By a friend 7sh.

From some correspondence over this fund thus raised it would seem as if "poor Thatcher," as Sewall names him, died before delivery.

"Jany. 26, 1705. Mr. Hirst and I went to Brookline to see my little granddaughter Rebecca Sewall. He and I were on horseback. Had some difficulty in going because of some deep descents between banks of snow. But went and came very well. Blessed be God. Feby. 24. Singing of birds is come."

"March 26. Set out for Barker's, a soldier from Deerfield accompanied us with his fusee."

Sewall was now probably going from Weymouth to Plymouth to hold court. The soldier for a guard shows the danger from Indians.

"March 6, 1706. At night a great ship of 370 tuns, building at Salem runs off her blocking and pitches ahead 16 foot. Her deck, not bolted off, falls in and opens at the bows; so that

'twill cost a great deal to bring her right agen; and Capt Dows thinks she will be hundreds of pounds the worse."

"Lord's Day, June 15, 1707. I felt myself dull and heavy and listless as to spiritual good; carnal, lifeless; I sighed to God that he would quicken me." "June 16. My house was broken open in two places, and about twenty pounds worth of plate stolen away, and some linen; my spoon and knife and neckcloth was taken. I said, is not this an answer to prayer? Jane came up and gave us the alarm betime in the morn. I was helped to submit to Christ's stroke and say 'Welcome Christ.'" "June 19. The measuring bason is found with Margaret Barton, just carrying it off to sea, to Hingham; said she had it of James Hews, he gave it her to sell for him. Mr. Secretary sent her to prison." "June 21. Billy Cowell's shop is entered by the chimney and a considerable quantity of plate stolen. I gave him a warrant to the constable, they find James Hews hid in the hay in Cabal's barn, on the back side of the Common; while they was seizing of him under the hay, he stripped off his pocket, which was quickly after found and Cowell's silver in it."

"Sep. 8. [He was now apparently on the South Circuit, Plymouth Colony.] Midweek sentenced a woman that whipped a man to be whipped; said a woman that had lost her modesty was like salt that had lost its savor; good for nothing but to be cast to the dunghill; — seven or eight joined together, called the man out of his bed, guilefully praying him to show them the way; then by help of a negro youth, tore off his clothes and whipped him with rods; to chastise him for carrying it harshly to his wife."

"Oct. The five stone posts are set up in our front. I went to Brookline and chose some apple trees from which my son is to send me apples."

"June, 1708. There was an enquiry by the magistrates as to 'debaucheries at North's, the Exchange tavern.' As the upshot a certain young man is fined 20^s for lying; 5^s curse; 10^s breach of the peace for throwing the pots and scale box at the maid and bound over to keep the peace."

"Lord's Day, Aug. 29, 1708, about 4 P.M. An express brings the news, the doleful news of the surprise of Haverhill by 150

French and Indians. Mr. Rolf and his wife and family slain. About break of day these words run much in my mind, I will smite the Shepherd and the Sheep shall be scattered. What a dreadful scattering is here of poor Haverhill flock upon the very day they used to have their solemn assemblies."

"Decr 7, 1705. Went to Brookline, set out about noon, saw the Governor [Dudley] at his fence who invited me in to dinner, &c. Passed on. After dinner met the Governor upon the plain near Sol Phipps; told me of what happened on the road, being in a great passion; threatened to send those that affronted him to England."

This simple entry in the Diary stands for one of the most singular and perhaps grotesque events put on record by Sewall, which, as illustrating the sturdiness and wilfulness of the old New England stock, is worth recounting. The simple fact was that two farmers, with two carts with wood, refused in a rather narrow and snowy lane to turn out for the governor's chariot as he rode on public business; and so a ludicrous and rather dangerous fracas ensued. The affidavits on both sides have been preserved, and they show that somebody lied or had gone quite daft over the fray. The governor, undoubtedly an exceedingly choleric man, insisted that the queen's justices of her Majesty's Superior Court should make it a case of high treason; which, if assented to, would have put the two farmers in a very awkward position. Dudley swore that while he was taking his journey toward New Hampshire and the Province of Maine, for her Majesty's immediate service there, having dismissed his guards, about a mile from home he met two carts in the road, loaden with

wood, the carters, he is since informed, being Winchester and Trowbridge; that his chariot had three sitters and three servants depending, with trunks and portmantles for the journey, drawn by four horses, one very unruly, and he was attended only that instant by Mr. Wm. Dudley, the governor's son; that seeing the carts approach, he directed his son to bid them give him the way, because his chariot was not fit to break the way; that his son told them this; that then the second carter came to the other's help, and one said he would not go out of the way for the governor; whereupon the latter came out of the chariot and bade Winchester give way, who said boldly, simply, "I am as good flesh and blood as you; I will not give way. You may go out of the way." Came towards the governor; that thereupon the latter drew his sword to secure himself and command the road, and went forward, yet without either saying or intending to hurt the carters, or once pointing or passing at them, and again commanded them to give way; that thereupon Winchester answered that he was a Christian, and would not give way, but advanced, and at length laid hold on the governor, and broke the sword in his hand; that very soon after came a justice of peace and sent the carters to prison. Dudley further informed the justices, as an additional and culpable insolence, that they would not give their names nor once pull off their hats. All this he averred on his honor as governor.

The other side swore to a very different story, denying substantially all the governor's averments,

and making themselves out very well-behaved and innocent victims of the governor's unreasonable wrath. They claimed that they couldn't turn out; and that all the violence was on the other side. John Winchester swore that Dudley tried to stab his horse and him. "The Governor followed me with his drawn sword, and said, 'Run the dogs through,' and with his naked sword stabbed me in the back; he struck me on the head with his sword, giving me a bloody wound. I then, expecting to be killed dead on the spot, to prevent his Excellency from such a bloody act in the heat of his passion, I catcht hold on his sword and it broke; but in his furious rage he struck me divers blows with the hilt and piece of sword remaining in his hand, wounding me on the hands therewith; while I called on the bystanders to take notice that what I did was in defence of my life. Then the Governor said, 'You lie, you dog; you lie, you divil,' repeating the same words divers times. Then said I such words don't become a Christian; his Excellency replied, 'A Christian, you dog, a Christian, you divil! I was a Christian before you were born.'" Thomas Trowbridge swore that he was stabbed in the hip, and was lashed with his own cartwhip, as Winchester had been just before.

After their affidavits, one wonders that they were not all killed on the spot, or died soon of their wounds in the prison. Yet for aught we know, they died of old age in their bed. But they had good reason to rue this collision with the governor. Their fathers sued for a writ of *habeas corpus*, rather tardily

granted. They could procure no counsel, probably because of the Dudley influence. Some would have had £500 and more sureties; but they were finally bound over to the Superior Court in £300 bail and three suretees, each £100. Sewall, whose son had married Dudley's daughter, was put in as a justice, — a rather delicate position in the affair, — but he evidently stood the carters' friend, and writes in his Diary:—

“I am glad that I have been instrumental to open the prison to these two young men, that they might repair to their wives and children and occasions and might have liberty to assemble with God's people on the Lord's Day.”

The young men, evidently Puritans in politics, very possibly consoled themselves with the reflection that, after all, they didn't turn out for the governor's chariot. The matter passed in among the clergy and the gentry, and after nigh a year, at a session of the Superior Court, Nov. 5, 1706, four justices being present, “they were discharged by solemn proclamation.”

“Nov^r. 1. Governor Dudley's best horse dies in his pasture at Roxbury as go to Dedham. Governor calls and smokes a pipe with my wife at night.” [Hannah Sewall was now ill.]

“Jany. 6, 1709. Presently after Lecture the act of Parliament regulating coin is published by beat of drum and sound of trumpet. In Council a Spaniard's petition is read praying his freedom.”

It would appear from the record here that this Spaniard was in peril of being held as a slave on the ground of his olive complexion, all men of that color,

his claimant argued, being slaves. The man was probably freed, though no further mention is made of him.

"April 7. The taking of several vessels laden with provisions on the back of the Cape over against Eastham last Wednesday makes the town very sad."

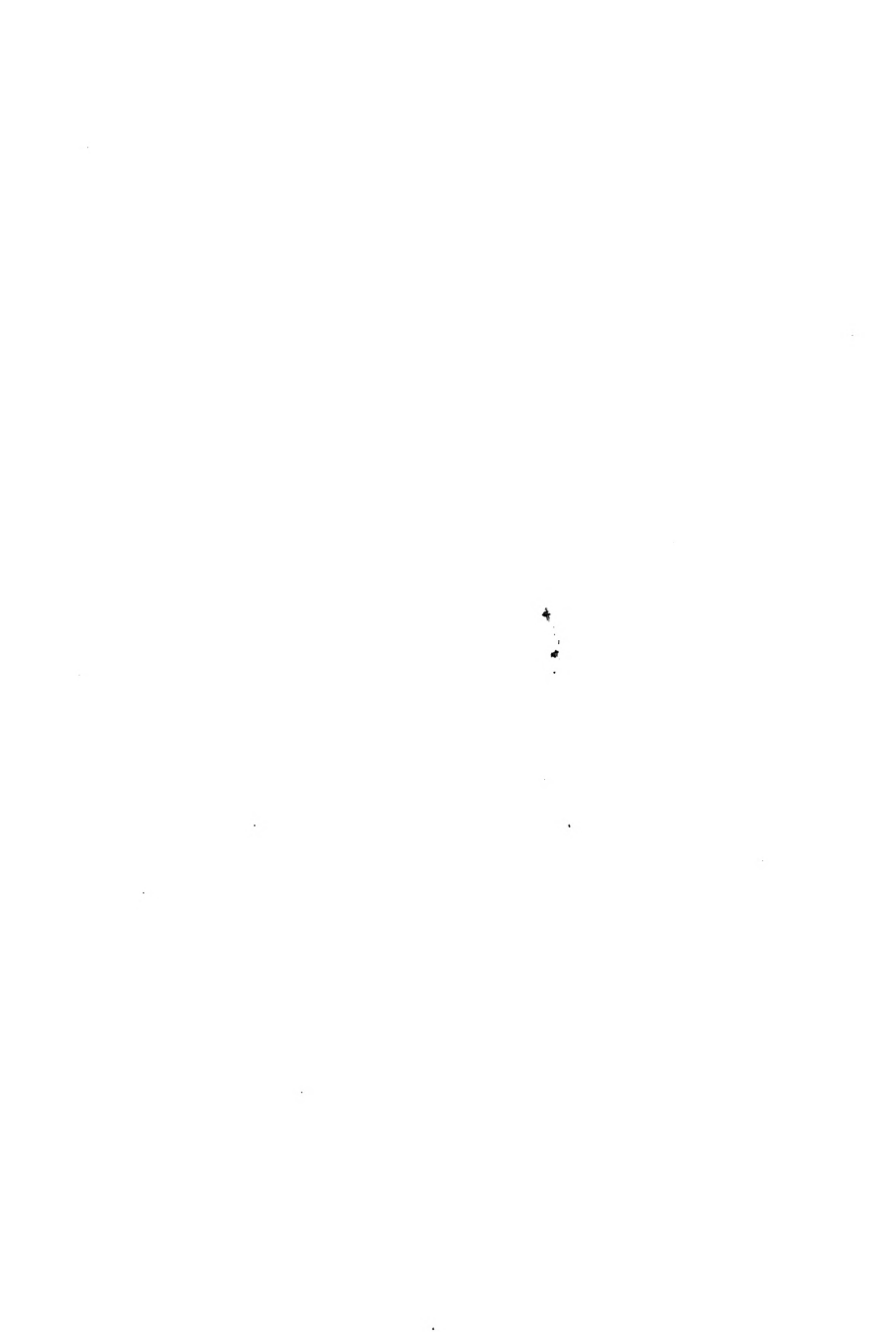
"May 2. Being Artillery day and Mr. Higginson dead [their agent in London] I put on my mourning rapier; and put a black ribbon into my little cane."

"Nov. 19. Very cold. Have the news of the great battle; Confederates beat the French."

This was the battle Malplaquet won by Marlborough and Prince Eugene over Marshal Villars. Thus the struggle between the Gaul and the Briton for the possession of North America was now proceeding on both continents, and Sewall's Diary makes brief but frequent mention of its epochs.

"March 27, 1710. [He was now on a journey in Plymouth Colony.] Am much disheartened by the snow on the ground and that which was falling there being a dismal face of winter. Yet the sun breaking out I stood along about 10 M. Everything looked so wild with snow on the ground and trees that was in pain lest I should wander."

Passages like the above are rare in Sewall's Diary. Yet he had a keen vision for what he chooses to look at. He must have seen in those wild ways he travelled many wonderful sun rises and sets; and the spring woods, then as now, must have been full of flowers and beauty. Yet his Diary is bare of any record thereof. Rainbows and lightnings, eclipses of the moon and hailstorms, he knows and respects.



man, ready to take offence and to blame. After more than a usual bitter taste of his parson's vituperations, Sewall writes : —

“ These things made me pray earnestly and with great concern that God would vouchsafe to be my Shepherd and perform what is mentioned in the 23^d Psalm, that he would not leave me behind in my stragglings but bring me safely to his Heavenly Fold.”

The Puritan parsons had a way of fighting their battles by praying or not praying for the authorities, judges, and the like, according to their pleasure. On the Sunday following the occasion referred to, Sewall notes with regret that his pastor ordered the singing of the first five verses of the Fifty-eighth Psalm.

“ I think if I had been in his place and had been kindly and tenderly affectioned I should not have done it at this time. 'Tis certain one may make libels of David's Psalms; and if a person be abused there is no remedy; I desire to leave it to God who can and will judge righteously.”

If Tate and Brady's version of that Psalm was sung, this was a sample of what Judge Sewall was obliged to listen to : —

I

“ Speak, O ye judges of the earth,
if just your sentence be:
Or must not innocence appeal
to Heaven from your decree ?

2

Your wicked hearts and judgments are
alike by malice swayed;
Your griping hands by weighty bribes
to violence betrayed.”

And much more, and worse, of the same sort. Is not here, in such clerical conduct, one reason for the decline of power in the Puritan pulpit?

“About 7 or 8 o'clock of the night between the 2^d and 3^d of October [1711] a dreadful fire happens in Boston; broke out in a little house belonging to Cap^t Ephraim Savage by reason of the drunkenness of — Moss. Old meeting house and town house burnt. Old meeting house had stood nearly 70 years. The Lt Governor Taylor arrives. Saw the fire twenty leagues off.”

“Oct. 11. Fifth day. Fast. A collection was made for sufferers by the fire; two hundred and sixty odd pounds gathered at the South Church, the oldest meeting house in town.”

“Dec. 31. Major Walley has prayer at his house respecting his foot; began between 2 and 3 P.M.”

“Feby. 22, 1712. Mr. Pemberton comes to see me and communicates to me the Mock Sermon and mentions my going to Mr. Secretary which I do; but 'twas night before we could concert measures.”

This straw shows that the wind was already blowing against the Puritan sermons; for some ribald fellow had made and spoke a scurrilous one before a few of his boon companions, and got bound over to the next court in £50, to stand trial accordingly.

“March 26, 1713. Mr. Sam^l Danforth visits us in the evening. Has hopes of Mr. Jno. Williams' daughter.”

This child of the Deerfield minister was captured and carried to Canada, where she joined the French Church, and married an Indian, taking up the savage life. She lived and died so. By what seems a strange anomaly in these early days, ten whites Indianized to one Indian who became Christian.

"Seventh Day, Feb. 6, 1714. I went to the town house on the occasion of the Queen's birthday. . . . My neighbor Colson knocks at my door about 9 P.M. or past to tell of the disorders at the tavern at the South End in Mr. Addington's house, kept by John Wallis. He desired me that I would accompany Mr. Bromfield and Constable Howell thither. It was 35 minutes past 9 at night before Mr. Bromfield came; then we went. I took Æneas Salter with me. Found much company. They refused to go away. Said were there to drink the Queen's health and they had many other healths to drink. Called for more drink; drank to me; I took notice of the affront, to them. Said must and would stay upon that solemn occasion. Mr. Netmaker drank the Queen's health to me. I told him I drank none; upon that he ceased. Mr. Brinley put on his hat to affront me. I made him take it off. I threatened to send some of them to prison; that did not move them. They said they could but pay their fine and doing that they might stay. I told them if they had not a care they would be guilty of a riot. Mr. Bromfield spake of raising a number of men to quell them and was in some heat, ready to run into the street. But I did not like that. Not having pen and ink I went to take their names with my pencil and not knowing how to spell their names they themselves of their own accord writ them. Mr. Netmaker, reproaching the Province, said they had not made one good law. At last I addressed myself to Mr. Banister. I told him he had been longest an inhabitant and a freeholder, I expected he would set a good example in departing thence. Upon this he invited them to his own house and away they went; and we, after them, went away. I went directly home and found it 25 minutes past 10 at night when I entered my own house."

Judge Sewall's better nature and good judgment shine here. His emotions on this occasion must have been mixed. He himself was a *bon vivant*, knew personally many of these very gentlemanly revellers; and yet they were breaking down the barriers of the ancient Puritanism by such festi-

ity on Saturday night. They and he knew the law, and he enforced it, evidently with patience and good-humor.

The matter was not allowed to rest there. Monday, early, they were all fined five shillings. Many of them paid; some appealed, and gave bonds to prosecute their appeal. Mr. John Netmaker was the private secretary of General Nicholson, commander of her Majesty's forces. He was fined an additional five shillings for profane cursing, which he paid. Next he was bound over and required to give bonds "for contempt of her Majesty's government of this Province, and villifying the same at the house of John Wallis," etc. Finally, Netmaker and his friends lost temper, and refused to give bonds. Sewall and Bromfield promptly sent him to jail. A council was called, and after a long and bitter wrangle the governor, substantially by his own order, released Netmaker, under protest from the two magistrates, who had only executed the laws. But the trouble was that these same laws were unreasonable and unendurable to any but Puritans.

CHAPTER XII.

SEWALL AND THE PURITAN HOME—LIFE.

THE substance of the old New England domestic life was English ; the coloring of it was Puritan. The homes of Old England in the seventeenth century were hearty, generous in diet (if regard be had to quantity only), homely, industrious, and full of the love of kindred. Most were religious after a fashion ; had their proverbs and superstitions ; were narrow, or greatly lacking in interest for almost anything that did not lie close to their narrow circle of existence, and with personal manners which were explicit, if not refined. These conditions were only modified in New England in the emigrant's lot by the inevitable differences from those in the mother land ; but the white men here were Englishmen in families. Puritanism quickened and enlarged the mental movements of its votaries, and even the Sunday's sermon and the endless annex of lectures and private meetings quickened and vitalized thought. The Puritan sermons, before the quicker pulse of these new days, may seem endless and barren ; but they would never have been listened to by other than keen and intelligent auditors. The story has been already told of the privations of the earlier emigrants ; these con-

them off men's heads. Sewall, in his baldness and cold rooms, wore a velvet cap; and one reason why his courtship of Madam Winthrop came to naught, was that he would not promise her to wear a wig. The Puritans often remind one of a grist-mill, where, when there is no other grist to grind, the upper and nether millstones grind one another.

This is the way Sewall goes for a young parson in his favorite foray against periwigs:—

“Tuesday, June 10, 1701. Having last night heard that Josiah Willard had cut off his hair (a very full head of hair) and put on a wig I went to him this morning. Told his mother what I came about and she called him. I enquired of him what extremity had forced him to put off his own hair and put on a wig? He answered none at all. But said that his hair was straight and that it parted behind. Seemed to argue that men might as well shave their hair off their head as off their face. [Sewall himself wore no beard.] I answered men were men before they had hair on their faces, half of mankind have never any. God seems to have ordained our hair as a test, to see whether we can bring our minds to be content to be at his finding; or whether we would be our own Carvers, Lords, and come no more at him. Your calling is to teach men self denial. 'Twill be displeasing and burdensome to good men; and they that care not what men think of them care not what God thinks of them. Allow me so far to be a *censor morum* for this end of the town. Prayed him to read the tenth chapter of the third book of Calvin's *Institutions*. [The subject of this chapter is, “How One Ought to Use the Present Life and Its Aids.”] Told him that it was condemned by a meeting of ministers at Northampton in Mr. Stoddard's house, when the said Josiah was there. Told him of the solemnity of the Covenant which he and I had lately entered into, which put me upon discoursing to him. He seemed to say would leave off his wig when his hair was grown. I spake to his father of it a day or two after.

He thanked me and told me when his hair was grown to cover his ears he promised to leave off his wig. If he had known I would have forbidden him. His mother heard him talk of it but was afraid positively to forbid him lest he should do it and so be more faulty."

Here is poor parson Josiah Willard and his periwig again : —

"Nov. 30. I spent this Sabbath at Mr. Colman's, partly out of dislike to Mr. Josiah Willard's cutting off his hair and wearing a wig. He that contemns the law of nature is not fit to be a publisher of the law of grace. Partly to give an example of my holding Communion with that Church who renounce the Cross in baptism, human holydays &c. as other New-England churches do. I perceive by several, that Mr. Colman's people were much gratified by my giving them my company. Several considerable persons expressed themselves so. The Lord cleanse me from all my iniquity."

Sewall does not exactly shine in these passages either as a student of history or as a large-minded man. Wigs he undoubtedly hated to the end, and loved those who hated with him. But he might have read how that that same mediæval church which could force a German emperor on his knees in the snow as a penitent, miserably failed when he undertook to deal with the women's headdresses of that era ; and, besides, he stood against the fashion which is apt to be a blunder in a public man careless of his popularity, as Sewall was. The wigs threw him in spite of his misery, until fashion bade them disappear. Yet Sewall held out against fate, and hated the Devil and periwigs all his days. Even Madame

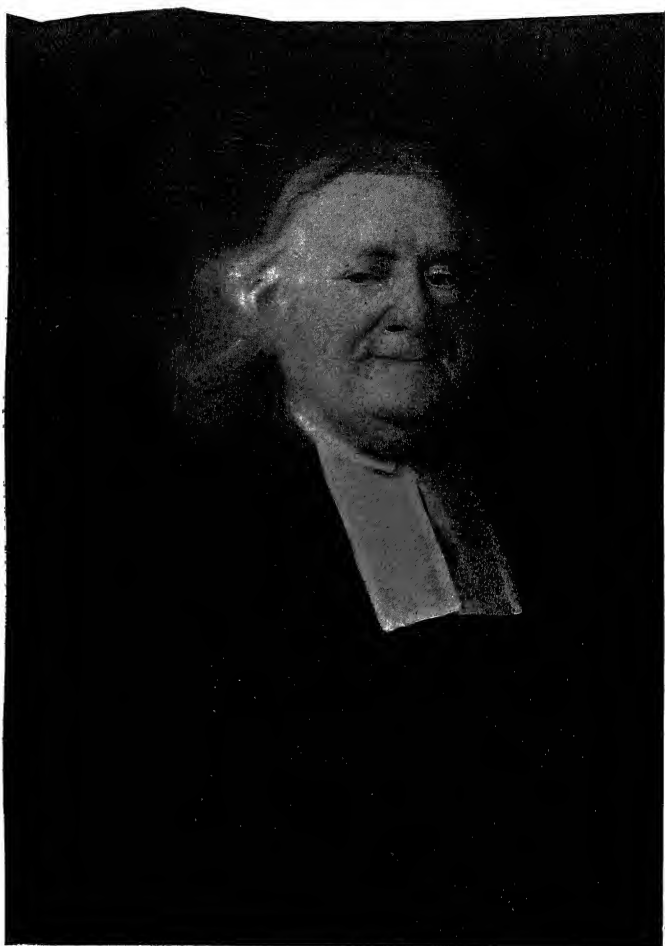
Winthrop, in the very heyday of his winter love, could not persuade him to wear one. He told her:—

“As to a periwig, my best and greatest friend, I could not possibly have a greater, began to find me with hair before I was born and had continued to do so ever since; and I could not find it in my heart to go to another.”

There was, indeed, a certain sweetness, perhaps one should fairly say much sweetness, in the family circle, though it must be confessed by the candid student of those times that it was very often the sweetness of violets on the edge of an April snow-drift. There was also a stately courtesy among the best, veiling often a very tender regard, which was yet tough enough to reach beyond the grave. This Sewall shows in his frequent lamentations for his fallen friends:—

“July 4, 1701. The Court understanding the Lt Governor's growing illness [Stoughton] were loath to press him with business and sent Mr. Secretary, Mr. Speaker and Mr. White to discourse his honor and propound an adjournment. He agreed to it very freely. I said the Court was afflicted with a sense of his honor's indisposition; at which he raised himself up on his couch. When coming away, he reached out his hand; I gave him mine and kissed his. He said before, ‘Pray for me.’ This was the last time I ever saw his honor.”

Here we observe a high ritual of friendship and respect, coupled with a free use of titles. Yet Sewall seldom gives the title of “reverend” to a minister, and objected stoutly to the sign of the cross in baptism. In such unintended ways he many times shows the radical antagonism of Puritanism to the



JOSEPH SEWALL,
(SON)
A PASTOR OF THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH.



old church ways, and that the root of the coming to New England was to have a free church and a state for that church.

“July 15. Funeral day of Lt Governor.”

Sewall's own domestic life must have been one of the most charming expressions of Puritan house-keeping. He was from the start rich, and with a tender heart he brought up his children with a gentle but, if necessary, an unsparing hand. Here is a case in point:—

“Nov. 6, 1692. Joseph threw a knob of brass and hit his sister Betty on the forehead so as to make it bleed and swell; upon which and for playing at prayer time and eating when return thanks I whipped him pretty smartly. When I first went in (called by his grandmother) he sought to shadow and hide himself from me behind the head of the cradle; which gave me the sorrowful remembrance of Adam's carriage.”

His wife (*née* Hannah Hull) must have been a gracious and stately matron, busy, like Martha, about the many things of a large family. Sewall often refers to her in his Diary, and after her death utters this plaintive cry in a letter to his friend, “I have lost a most constant lover and a most laborious nurse for 42 years together.”

Only one letter of hers is extant, and that was written to her cousin in Bermuda, who had evidently tried to send her a present of some sort, which had been confiscated by some one of that horde of petty thieves which the Puritan shipmasters of those days

knew so well, before it reached Hannah Sewall's hands.

The letter follows:—

HANNAH SEWALL TO LOVE FOWLE.

BOSTON, N.E., *July 25, 1686.*

GOOD COUSIN;

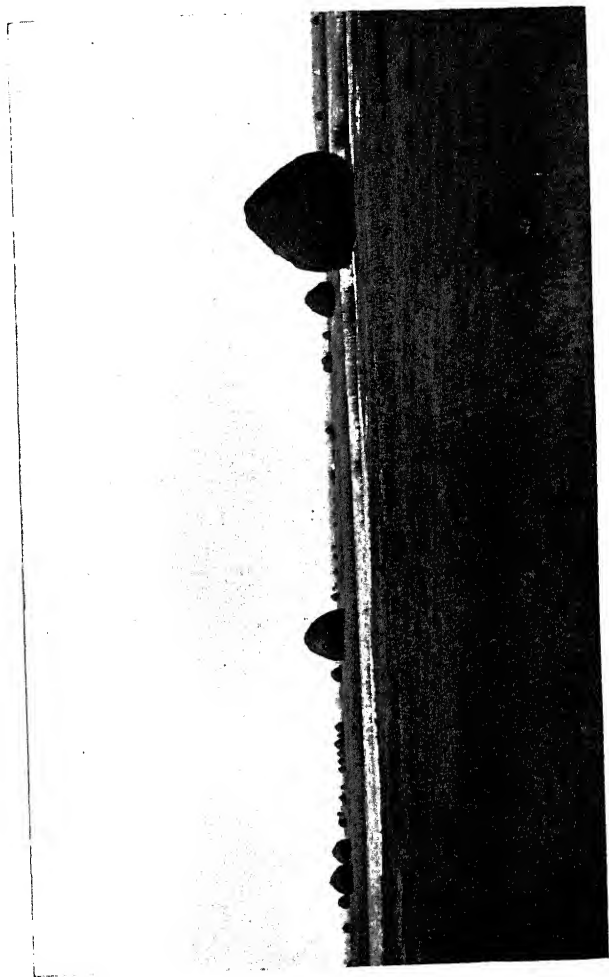
My husband wrote to Mr. Fowle the 28 of May last after which, viz. on June the 10, I received your kind letter dated the 4th of May upon which I made enquiry after the loving token you sent me, and the account I had was that they were half stolen before they came on board and the rest delivered to Mr. Prout, who told us he received so few, would but in a manner pay the freight, and knew not but they were for himself, and had eaten them up or near eaten them. I am sorry for the frustration of your intended kindness to me; but your desire is kindness and that I have received and gratefully accepted and would entreat you to prevent the inconvenience of being so deceived for the future, by forbearing to give yourself the trouble of sending. . . .

I am glad to hear of God's blessing you with children. I buried two sons lately. . . . I have one son and two daughters living. The Lord do me good by his various ways of Providence towards me. My service to yourself and Mr. Fowle, with my husband's, I take leave, who am your loving, obliged cousin

HANNAH SEWALL.

The Puritan respect for parents, and their social relations, are vividly expressed in Sewall's Diary, where he tells of his parents' death:—

"May 14, 1700. Get to Newbury a little before sunset, visit my sick father in bed, call in the Major General whom father salutes. Kissed my hand and I, his, again. Mr. Tappan came in and prayed with him and us." "May 15. Walks into the west end of the house with his staff, breakfasts there. I read the 17th Luke and went to prayer. My father would have stood



NEWBURY.

knew so well, before it reached Hannah Sewall's hands.

The letter follows :—

HANNAH SEWALL TO LOVE FOWLE.

BOSTON, N.E., *July* 25, 1686.

GOOD COUSIN ;

My husband wrote to Mr. Fowle the 28 of May last after which, viz. on June the 10, I received your kind letter dated the 4th of May upon which I made enquiry after the loving token you sent me, and the account I had was that they were half stolen before they came on board and the rest delivered to Mr. Prout, who told us he received so few, would but in a manner pay the freight, and knew not but they were for himself, and had eaten them up or near eaten them. I am sorry for the frustration of your intended kindness to me ; but your desire is kindness and that I have received and gratefully accepted and would entreat you to prevent the inconvenience of being so deceived for the future, by forbearing to give yourself the trouble of sending. . . .

I am glad to hear of God's blessing you with children. I buried two sons lately. . . . I have one son and two daughters living. The Lord do me good by his various ways of Providence towards me. My service to yourself and Mr. Fowle, with my husband's, I take leave, who am your loving, obliged cousin

HANNAH SEWALL.

The Puritan respect for parents, and their social relations, are vividly expressed in Sewall's Diary, where he tells of his parents' death :—

"May 14, 1700. Get to Newbury a little before sunset, visit my sick father in bed, call in the Major General whom father salutes. Kissed my hand and I, his, again. Mr. Tappan came in and prayed with him and us." "May 15. Walks into the west end of the house with his staff, breakfasts there. I read the 17th Luke and went to prayer. My father would have stood

up, but I persuaded him to sit still in his chair. Took leave and went on to Portsmouth." [He was now on circuit and in a press of legal business.] "May 17. Benj. Moss Jr. is sent to acquaint me that my dear father died the evening before. It rains hard. Holds up about 5 P.M. I ride to Hampton [from Portsmouth] lodge at Mr. Cotton's where am very kindly entertained. May 18. Ride to Newbury in the rain. Bury my father. Sabbath, May 19. Mr. Tappan in the afternoon preached a funeral sermon from Prov. 19. 20. Said my father was a true Nathaniel [i.e., a man in whom there was no guile.] It seems about a fortnight before, upon discourse of going to meeting my father said he could not go, but hoped to go shortly to a Greater Assembly. The Lord pardon all my sins of omission and commission towards him and help me to prepare to die. Accept of any little labor of love towards my dear parents. I had just sent four pounds of raisins, which with the canary were very refreshing to him. Worthy Mr. Hale of Beverly [he also had a hand in the Salem witchcraft business] was buried the day before my father. So was Mr. John Wadsworth of Duxbury who died May 15th 1700. I used to be much refreshed with his company when I went to Plymouth; and was so this last time."

"Jany. 14, 1701. Having been certified last night about 10 o'clock of the death of my dear mother at Newbury, Sam and I set out with John Sewall, the messenger, for that place. Hired horses at Charlestown; set out about 10 o'clock in a great fog. I followed the bier single. Went about 4 P.M. Nathl. Bricket taking in hand to fill the grave I said Forbear a little and suffer me to say that amidst our bereaving sorrows we have the comfort of beholding this saint put into the rightful possession of that happiness, of living desired and dying lamented. She lived commendably four and fifty years with her dear husband and my dear father. And she could not well brook the being divided from him at her death; which is the cause of our taking leave of her in this place. She was a true and constant lover of God's word, worship and saints; and she always with a patient cheerfulness submitted to the divine decree of providing bread for herself and others in the sweat of her brows. And now her infinitely gracious and bountiful master has promoted her to the

honor of higher employments, fully and absolutely discharged from all manner of toil and sweat. My honored and beloved friends and neighbors! My dear mother never thought much of doing the most frequent and homely offices of love for me; and lavished away many thousands of words upon me before I could return one word in answer; and therefore I ask and hope that none will be offended that I have now ventured to speak one word in her behalf; when she herself is become speechless. Made a motion with my hand for the filling of the grave. Note, I could hardly speak for passion and tears. Mr. Tappan prayed with us in the evening. Jan. 16. The two brothers and four sisters being together, we took leave by singing of the 90 Psalm from the 8th to the 15th verse inclusively."

"My mother being dead [he writes], almost all my memory is dead with her."

In his letter to Governor Dudley (Aug. 10, 1702), speaking of his sister's (Mrs. Moodey) death, at Newbury, his Puritan quality of mind shows more distinctly:—

"She lived desired and dies lamented by her neighbors. Certainly I have lost a noble spring of love and respect. Though she was a very ingenuous, tender hearted, pious creature; yet but a little crazy cistern and the breaking of it so soon (37 years 3 mo.) is a rebuke directing me to the *Fountain* of living waters. I ask your Excellency's pardon that I have wept these tears in your presence. Grievs disclosed, divide.

I am your Excellency's most humble Servt.

S. S.

When his sister Hannah Tappan dies, in 1699, he writes:—

"We have lived, eight of us together, thirty years and were wont to speak of it (it may be too vainly). But now God begins to part us apace. Two are taken away in about a quarter of a year's time. And methinks, now my dear brother and sister

are laid in the grave I am as it were laid there in proxy. The Lord help me to carry it more suitably, more fruitfully, toward the five remaining; and put me in a preparedness for my own dissolution. And help me to live upon him alone."

As a close to these memorials of Puritan family affection, this picture of the last days of the Apostle Eliot may be added. Three years before his death, his wife died, in 1687. As he stood by her coffin, with tears streaming down his old face, he said, "Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife. I shall go to her, but she shall not return to me." He sat waiting for death. When Minister Watton visited him, he said, "Brother, you are welcome; but retire to your study and pray that I may be gone." He said, "My memory, my utterance, fail me, but I thank God my charity holds out." His last words were, "Welcome joy!"

Here are some letters of the Winthrops which show the Puritan social life in some of its best aspects:—

LETTER OF JOHN WINTHROP TO HIS SISTER.

MY GOOD SISTER;

I have been too long silent to you, considering mine own consciousness of that great debt which I owe you for your love and much kindness to me and mine. . . .

I partake with you in that affliction [her husband's last sickness] which it pleaseth the Lord to still exercise you and my good brother in. I know God hath so fitted and disposed your mind to bear troubles, as your friends may take the less care for you in them. He shews you more love, in enabling you to bear them comfortably, than you could apprehend in the freedom from them. Go on cheerfully, my good sister, let experience add more confidence still to your patience. Peace shall come.

There will be a bed to rest in, large and easy enough for you both. It is preparing in the lodging appointed for you in your Father's house. He that vouchsafeth to wipe the sweat from his disciples' feet will not disdain to wipe the tears from those tender affectionate eyes. Because you have been one of his mourners in the house of tribulation you shall drink of the cup of joy and be clothed with the garment of gladness in the Kingdom of his glory. The former things, and evil will soon be passed; but the good to come shall neither end nor change. Never man saw heaven but would have passed through hell to come at it.

Your loving brother,

JO. WINTHROP.

March 25, 1628.

In the absence of his son John, a student at Trinity College, Dublin, John Winthrop writes:—

[1623.] "We all think long to see you, and, it is like, myself shall (if it please God) go over to you, before I shall be willing you should take so great a journey and be so long withdrawn from your happy studies to come to us. It satisfieth me to know you are well and can want nothing and that (I believe) God blesses you. I shall continue to pray for you and will not be wanting, to my power to further your good in everything, and know this, that no distance of place or length of absence, can abate the affection of a loving father towards a dutiful well deserving child. . . . And so in haste I end; and beseeching daily the Lord Jesus Christ to be with thee and bless thee I rest

"Your loving father

"JO. WINTHROP."

There spoke a right royal gentleman!

To the same son, gone on some naval enterprise in the king's fleet, Winthrop writes:—

[1627.] "Only be careful to seek the Lord in the first place and with all earnestness, as he who is only able to keep you in

all perils and give you favor in the sight of those, who may be instruments of your welfare; and account it a great point of wisdom, to keep diligent watch over yourself that you may neither be infected by the evil conversation of any that you may be forced to converse with, neither that your own speech and behavior be any just occasion to hurt or ensnare you. Be not rash, upon ostentation of valor, to adventure yourself to unnecessary dangers; but if you be lawfully called, let it appear that you hold your life for him who gave it you and will preserve it unto the farthest period of his own holy decree. For you may be resolved, that while you keep in your way, all the cannons and enemies in the world shall not be able to shorten your days one minute. For my part, as a father, who desires your welfare as mine own, I cease not daily to commend you to God, beseeching him to preserve, prosper and bless you, that I may receive you again in peace and have assurance of enjoying you in a better life when your course here shall be finished."

He writes to his son Henry (1628), who later was drowned in Salem Harbor, and who appears to have been a son very much needing guidance: —

"It is my daily care to commend you to the Lord that he would please to put his true fear in your heart and the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, that you may be saved and that your ways may be pleasing in his sight. I wish also your outward prosperity, so far as may be for your good."

MARGARET WINTHROP'S LETTER TO HER HUSBAND.

MY MOST SWEET HUSBAND;

How dearly welcome thy kind letter was to me I am not able to express. The sweetness of it did much refresh me. What can be more pleasing to a wife than to hear of the welfare of her best beloved and how he is pleased with her poor endeavors! I blush to hear myself commended, knowing my own wants. But it is your love that conceives the best and makes all things seem better than they are. I wish that I may be

always pleasing to thee and that those comforts we have in each other may daily be increased, as far as they be pleasing to God. I will use that speech to thee, that Abigail did to David, 'I will be a servant to wash the feet of my lord.' I will do any service wherein I may please my good husband. I confess I cannot do enough for thee; but thou art pleased to accept the will for the deed and rest contented.

I have many reasons to make me love thee whereof I will name two; First because thou lovest God; and secondly because that thou lovest me. If these two were wanting, all the rest would be eclipsed. But I must leave this discourse and go about my household affairs. I am a bad housewife to be so long from them; but I must needs borrow a little time to talk with thee, my sweetheart. The term is more than half done. I hope thy business draws to an end. It will be but two or three weeks before I see thee, though they be long ones. God will bring us together in his good time; for which time I shall pray.

I thank the Lord we are all in health. We are very glad to hear so good news of our son Henry. The Lord make us thankful for all his mercies to us and ours. And thus with my mother's and my own best love to yourself and all the rest I shall leave scribbling. The weather being cold makes me make haste. Farewell my good husband; the Lord keep thee.

Your obedient wife

MARGARET WINTHROP.

GROTON, Nov. 22, 1628.

SAMUEL WINTHROP TO HIS FATHER.

TENERIFFE, April 5, 1646.

HONORED FATHER. *Sir*: By Mr. Peter Bickford, by way of the Barbadoes I presented you my duties and tidings of my health and welfare which God is pleased to continue unto me even at this present time, blessed be his name for it. This conveyance is in like manner by the Barbadoes, by Cap. Peter Strong which the remembrance of my duty and near alliance would not suffer me to pretermitt without expressing my filial obedience and craving your paternal blessing upon me your unworthy son, who hopes it is not in anger but in judgment

and mercy that God hath distanced not only from kindred and father's house but also from the precious means of grace, which God knows, to my helpless grief, I am deprived of which though sore at the present yet I hope will prove sweet in the end and a tedious absence now will produce a more convenient presence for the enjoyment of them hereafter. Concerning the outward man, here is as great a likelihood for the raising my outward estate as in any place, considering the troubles of this age and that with a little stock which I trust God will provide for me by some means or other in his due time. The gentlemen with whom I reside are very loving unto me and seem desirous of my company which my present resolution is to grant and your pleasure manifested to the purpose shall confirm. In the mean time I request your prayers to God for me that he may help me so to demean myself in the time of my stay that I may do what may be pleasing to himself and to those to whom I do belong. What spare time I have, which in the summer time is indifferent, I spend in reading God's word and in other good studies so that the theory of my learning may not be diminished, however the practice be lost. I submissively crave your blessing and prayers, desire the prolonging of your many comfortable years and desist. Your obedient son,

SAMUEL WINTHROP.

One often meets in Sewall and other Puritan authors references and glances at some of the old-time domestic tragedies now stilled in the grave of time, which repeat themselves so long as men mismatch and husband and wife repent at leisure. For instance, there is Mrs. Usher. Sewall was her business agent, and his Diary refers to her. She was the daughter of that Lady Alice Lisle who was tried before Jeffreys and beheaded for alleged complicity in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, 1685. Her husband was the legal adviser of the High Court of Justice which condemned Charles I. and perished

by assassination at Lausanne, a refugee. Her daughter Bridget became the wife of Dr. Hoar, the third president of Harvard College. After his death she married (1676) Mr. Hezekiah Usher, a Boston merchant. Her story is not told, but Mr. Usher's is, in this extract from his will : —

“ In the first place I desire that all my due debts should be paid as soon as possibly may be, and unto my dear wife whom I may count very dear by her love to what I had but not a real love to me who should accounted it more worth than any other outward enjoyment; and for her covetousness and overreaching and cunning impression that has almost ruined me by a gentle behavior, having only words but as sharp swords to me, whose cunning is to be like an angel of light to others but wanting love and charity to me and like Sir Edmund [Andros] to oppress the people and his hand not to be seen in it and done by his Council.

“ And therefore I do cut her off from the benefit of all my estate and do not bestow anything upon her but what the law doth allow. Because I look upon her as deceivable in going over for England, getting and grasping all her estate to be in her hand and of mine whatever was done for her by me to be ungrateful; and her staying away to be an implicit divorce and gives it into the hands of women to usurp the power out of the hands of their husbands, rather than in a way of humility to seek their husband's good. If they can live comfortably abroad without them they regard not the troubles or temptations of their husbands at home and so become separate; which is far worse than the doctrine of devils which forbid to marry. . . . And this my will I make to be a warning to those women who have no love for their husbands but to what they have; which one had better had a wife that had not been worth a groat than to have one that hath no love for him.”

He furthermore directs that all his papers writ on bad wives such as he has met, be overlooked and



GRAVESTONE OF SEWALL'S FATHER AND MOTHER.

knew so well, before it reached Hannah Sewall's hands.

The letter follows :—

HANNAH SEWALL TO LOVE FOWLE.

BOSTON, N.E., *July* 25, 1686.

GOOD COUSIN ;

My husband wrote to Mr. Fowle the 28 of May last after which, viz. on June the 10, I received your kind letter dated the 4th of May upon which I made enquiry after the loving token you sent me, and the account I had was that they were half stolen before they came on board and the rest delivered to Mr. Prout, who told us he received so few, would but in a manner pay the freight, and knew not but they were for himself, and had eaten them up or near eaten them. I am sorry for the frustration of your intended kindness to me ; but your desire is kindness and that I have received and gratefully accepted and would entreat you to prevent the inconvenience of being so deceived for the future, by forbearing to give yourself the trouble of sending. . . .

I am glad to hear of God's blessing you with children. I buried two sons lately. . . . I have one son and two daughters living. The Lord do me good by his various ways of Providence towards me. My service to yourself and Mr. Fowle, with my husband's, I take leave, who am your loving, obliged cousin

HANNAH SEWALL.

The Puritan respect for parents, and their social relations, are vividly expressed in Sewall's Diary, where he tells of his parents' death :—

“May 14, 1700. Get to Newbury a little before sunset, visit my sick father in bed, call in the Major General whom father salutes. Kissed my hand and I, his, again. Mr. Tappan came in and prayed with him and us.” “May 15. Walks into the west end of the house with his staff, breakfasts there. I read the 17th Luke and went to prayer. My father would have stood

up, but I persuaded him to sit still in his chair. Took leave and went on to Portsmouth." [He was now on circuit and in a press of legal business.] "May 17. Benj. Moss Jr. is sent to acquaint me that my dear father died the evening before. It rains hard. Holds up about 5 P.M. I ride to Hampton [from Portsmouth] lodge at Mr. Cotton's where am very kindly entertained. May 18. Ride to Newbury in the rain. Bury my father. Sabbath, May 19. Mr. Tappan in the afternoon preached a funeral sermon from Prov. 19. 20. Said my father was a true Nathaniel [i.e., a man in whom there was no guile.] It seems about a fortnight before, upon discourse of going to meeting my father said he could not go, but hoped to go shortly to a Greater Assembly. The Lord pardon all my sins of omission and commission towards him and help me to prepare to die. Accept of any little labor of love towards my dear parents. I had just sent four pounds of raisins, which with the canary were very refreshing to him. Worthy Mr. Hale of Beverly [he also had a hand in the Salem witchcraft business] was buried the day before my father. So was Mr. John Wadsworth of Duxbury who died May 15th 1700. I used to be much refreshed with his company when I went to Plymouth; and was so this last time."

"Jany. 14, 1701. Having been certified last night about 10 o'clock of the death of my dear mother at Newbury, Sam and I set out with John Sewall, the messenger, for that place. Hired horses at Charlestown; set out about 10 o'clock in a great fog. I followed the bier single. Went about 4 P.M. Nathl. Bricket taking in hand to fill the grave I said Forbear a little and suffer me to say that amidst our bereaving sorrows we have the comfort of beholding this saint put into the rightful possession of that happiness, of living desired and dying lamented. She lived commendably four and fifty years with her dear husband and my dear father. And she could not well brook the being divided from him at her death; which is the cause of our taking leave of her in this place. She was a true and constant lover of God's word, worship and saints; and she always with a patient cheerfulness submitted to the divine decree of providing bread for herself and others in the sweat of her brows. And now her infinitely gracious and bountiful master has promoted her to the

honor of higher employments, fully and absolutely discharged from all manner of toil and sweat. My honored and beloved friends and neighbors! My dear mother never thought much of doing the most frequent and homely offices of love for me; and lavished away many thousands of words upon me before I could return one word in answer; and therefore I ask and hope that none will be offended that I have now ventured to speak one word in her behalf; when she herself is become speechless. Made a motion with my hand for the filling of the grave. Note, I could hardly speak for passion and tears. Mr. Tappan prayed with us in the evening. Jan. 16. The two brothers and four sisters being together, we took leave by singing of the 90 Psalm from the 8th to the 15th verse inclusively."

"My mother being dead [he writes], almost all my memory is dead with her."

In his letter to Governor Dudley (Aug. 10, 1702), speaking of his sister's (Mrs. Moody) death, at Newbury, his Puritan quality of mind shows more distinctly:—

"She lived desired and dies lamented by her neighbors. Certainly I have lost a noble spring of love and respect. Though she was a very ingenuous, tender hearted, pious creature; yet but a little crazy cistern and the breaking of it so soon (37 years 3 mo.) is a rebuke directing me to the *Fountain* of living waters. I ask your Excellency's pardon that I have wept these tears in your presence. Grievs disclosed, divide.

I am your Excellency's most humble Servt.

S. S.

When his sister Hannah Tappan dies, in 1699, he writes:—

"We have lived, eight of us together, thirty years and were wont to speak of it (it may be too vainly). But now God begins to part us apace. Two are taken away in about a quarter of a year's time. And methinks, now my dear brother and sister

are laid in the grave I am as it were laid there in proxy. The Lord help me to carry it more suitably, more fruitfully, toward the five remaining; and put me in a preparedness for my own dissolution. And help me to live upon him alone."

As a close to these memorials of Puritan family affection, this picture of the last days of the Apostle Elliot may be added. Three years before his death, his wife died, in 1687. As he stood by her coffin, with tears streaming down his old face, he said, "Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife. I shall go to her, but she shall not return to me." He sat waiting for death. When Minister Watton visited him, he said, "Brother, you are welcome; but retire to your study and pray that I may be gone." He said, "My memory, my utterance, fail me, but I thank God my charity holds out." His last words were, "Welcome joy!"

Here are some letters of the Winthrop's which show the Puritan social life in some of its best aspects:

LETTER OF JOHN WINTHROP TO HIS SISTER

MY GOOD FRIEND,

I have been too long absent to you, considering mine own consciousness of that great debt which I owe you for your love and much kindness to me and mine.

I partake with you in that affliction [her husband's last sickness] which it pleaseth the Lord to still exercise you and my good brother in. I know your hath scanted and disposed your mind to be in mourning, as you therein may take the less care for yourn them. He shows you more love, in enabling you to bear them out safely, than you could expect and in the freedom from them. To cheerfully my husband's last experience add more confidence still to your patience. Peace shall come.

There will be a bed to rest in, large and easy enough for you both. It is preparing in the lodging appointed for you in your Father's house. He that vouchsafeth to wipe the sweat from his disciples' feet will not disdain to wipe the tears from those tender affectionate eyes. Because you have been one of his mourners in the house of tribulation you shall drink of the cup of joy and be clothed with the garment of gladness in the Kingdom of his glory. The former things, and evil will soon be passed; but the good to come shall neither end nor change. Never man saw heaven but would have passed through hell to come at it.

Your loving brother,

JO. WINTHROP.

March 25, 1628.

In the absence of his son John, a student at Trinity College, Dublin, John Winthrop writes:—

[1623.] "We all think long to see you, and, it is like, myself shall (if it please God) go over to you, before I shall be willing you should take so great a journey and be so long withdrawn from your happy studies to come to us. It satisfieth me to know you are well and can want nothing and that (I believe) God blesses you. I shall continue to pray for you and will not be wanting, to my power to further your good in everything, and know this, that no distance of place or length of absence, can abate the affection of a loving father towards a dutiful well deserving child. . . . And so in haste I end; and beseeching daily the Lord Jesus Christ to be with thee and bless thee I rest

"Your loving father

"JO. WINTHROP."

There spoke a right royal gentleman !

To the same son, gone on some naval enterprise in the king's fleet, Winthrop writes :

[1627.] "Only be careful to seek the Lord in the first place and with all earnestness, as he who is only able to keep you in

all perils and give you favor in the sight of those, who may be instruments of your welfare; and account it a great point of wisdom, to keep diligent watch over yourself that you may neither be infected by the evil conversation of any that you may be forced to converse with, neither that your own speech and behavior be any just occasion to hurt or ensnare you. Be not rash, upon ostentation of valor, to adventure yourself to unnecessary dangers; but if you be lawfully called, let it appear that you hold your life for him who gave it you and will preserve it unto the farthest period of his own holy decree. For you may be resolved, that while you keep in your way, all the cannons and enemies in the world shall not be able to shorten your days one minute. For my part, as a father, who desires your welfare as mine own, I cease not daily to commend you to God, beseeching him to preserve, prosper and bless you, that I may receive you again in peace and have assurance of enjoying you in a better life when your course here shall be finished."

He writes to his son Henry (1628), who later was drowned in Salem Harbor, and who appears to have been a son very much needing guidance:—

"It is my daily care to commend you to the Lord that he would please to put his true fear in your heart and the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, that you may be saved and that your ways may be pleasing in his sight. I wish also your outward prosperity, so far as may be for your good."

MARGARET WINTHROP'S LETTER TO HER HUSBAND.

MY MOST SWEET HUSBAND;

How dearly welcome thy kind letter was to me I am not able to express. The sweetness of it did much refresh me. What can be more pleasing to a wife than to hear of the welfare of her best beloved and how he is pleased with her poor endeavors! I blush to hear myself commended, knowing my own wants. But it is your love that conceives the best and makes all things seem better than they are. I wish that I may be

always pleasing to thee and that those comforts we have in each other may daily be increased, as far as they be pleasing to God. I will use that speech to thee, that Abigail did to David, 'I will be a servant to wash the feet of my lord.' I will do any service wherein I may please my good husband. I confess I cannot do enough for thee; but thou art pleased to accept the will for the deed and rest contented.

I have many reasons to make me love thee whereof I will name two; First because thou lovest God; and secondly because that thou lovest me. If these two were wanting, all the rest would be eclipsed. But I must leave this discourse and go about my household affairs. I am a bad housewife to be so long from them; but I must needs borrow a little time to talk with thee, my sweetheart. The term is more than half done. I hope thy business draws to an end. It will be but two or three weeks before I see thee, though they be long ones. God will bring us together in his good time; for which time I shall pray.

I thank the Lord we are all in health. We are very glad to hear so good news of our son Henry. The Lord make us thankful for all his mercies to us and ours. And thus with my mother's and my own best love to yourself and all the rest I shall leave scribbling. The weather being cold makes me make haste. Farewell my good husband; the Lord keep thee.

Your obedient wife

MARGARET WINTHROP.

GROTON, Nov. 22, 1628.

SAMUEL WINTHROP TO HIS FATHER.

TENERIFFE, April 5, 1646.

HONORED FATHER. *Sir*: By Mr. Peter Bickford, by way of the Barbadoes I presented you my duties and tidings of my health and welfare which God is pleased to continue unto me even at this present time, blessed be his name for it. This conveyance is in like manner by the Barbadoes, by Cap. Peter Strong which the remembrance of my duty and near alliance would not suffer me to pretermitt without expressing my filial obedience and craving your paternal blessing upon me your unworthy son, who hopes it is not in anger but in judgment

and mercy that God hath distanced not only from kindred and father's house but also from the precious means of grace, which God knows, to my helpless grief, I am deprived of which though sore at the present yet I hope will prove sweet in the end and a tedious absence now will produce a more convenient presence for the enjoyment of them hereafter. Concerning the outward man, here is as great a likelihood for the raising my outward estate as in any place, considering the troubles of this age and that with a little stock which I trust God will provide for me by some means or other in his due time. The gentlemen with whom I reside are very loving unto me and seem desirous of my company which my present resolution is to grant and your pleasure manifested to the purpose shall confirm. In the mean time I request your prayers to God for me that he may help me so to demean myself in the time of my stay that I may do what may be pleasing to himself and to those to whom I do belong. What spare time I have, which in the summer time is indifferent, I spend in reading God's word and in other good studies so that the theory of my learning may not be diminished, however the practice be lost. I submissively crave your blessing and prayers, desire the prolonging of your many comfortable years and desist. Your obedient son,

SAMUEL WINTHROP.

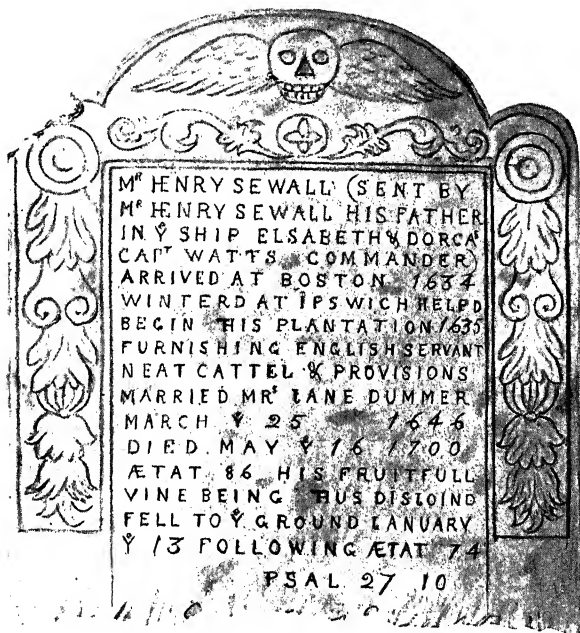
One often meets in Sewall and other Puritan authors references and glances at some of the old-time domestic tragedies now stilled in the grave of time, which repeat themselves so long as men mismatch and husband and wife repent at leisure. For instance, there is Mrs. Usher. Sewall was her business agent, and his Diary refers to her. She was the daughter of that Lady Alice Lisle who was tried before Jeffreys and beheaded for alleged complicity in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, 1685. Her husband was the legal adviser of the High Court of Justice which condemned Charles I. and perished

by assassination at Lausanne, a refugee. Her daughter Bridget became the wife of Dr. Hoar, the third president of Harvard College. After his death she married (1676) Mr. Hezekiah Usher, a Boston merchant. Her story is not told, but Mr. Usher's is, in this extract from his will :—

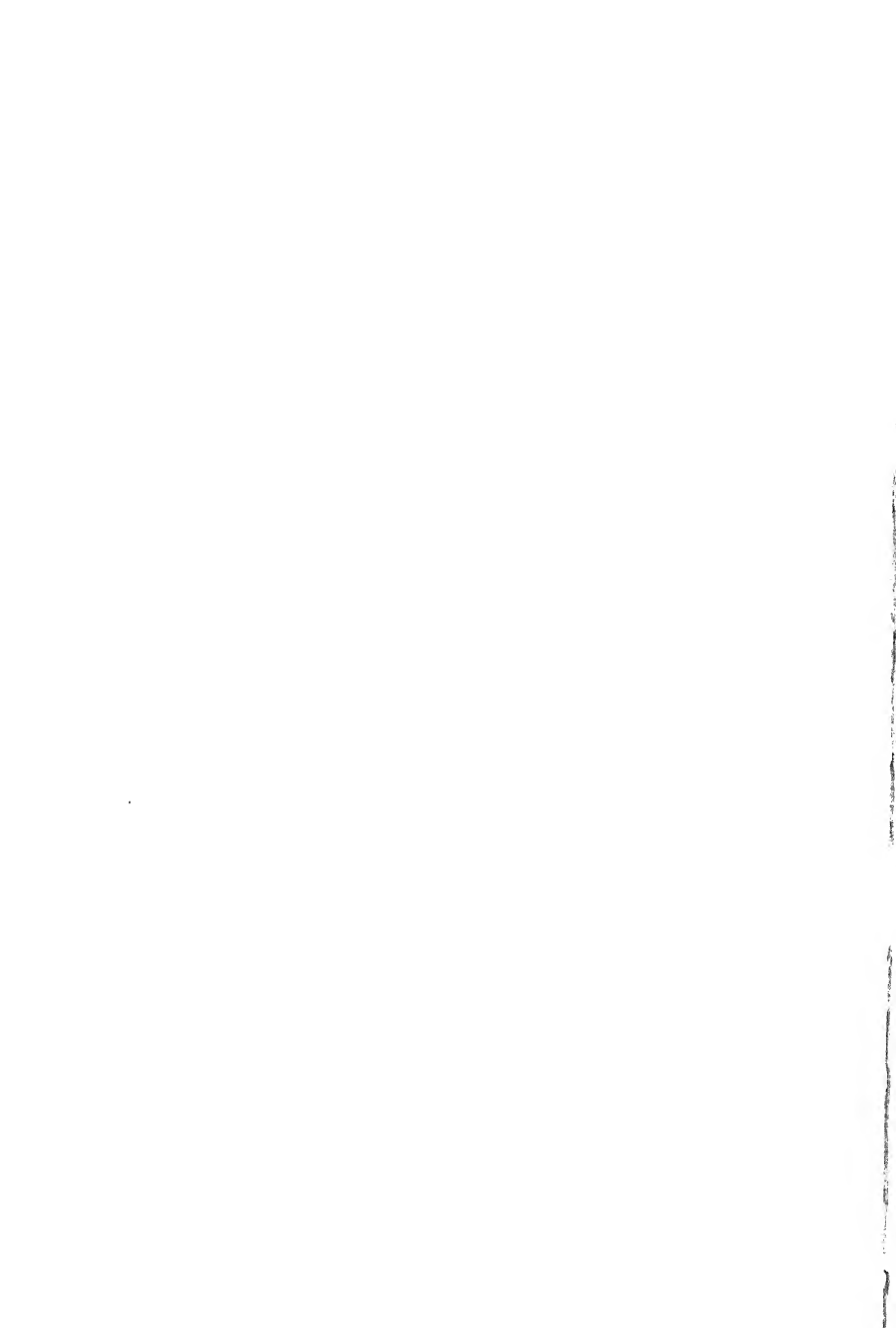
“ In the first place I desire that all my due debts should be paid as soon as possibly may be, and unto my dear wife whom I may count very dear by her love to what I had but not a real love to me who should accounted it more worth than any other outward enjoyment; and for her covetousness and overreaching and cunning impression that has almost ruined me by a gentle behavior, having only words but as sharp swords to me, whose cunning is to be like an angel of light to others but wanting love and charity to me and like Sir Edmund [Andros] to oppress the people and his hand not to be seen in it and done by his Council.

“ And therefore I do cut her off from the benefit of all my estate and do not bestow anything upon her but what the law doth allow. Because I look upon her as deceivable in going over for England, getting and grasping all her estate to be in her hand and of mine whatever was done for her by me to be ungrateful; and her staying away to be an implicit divorce and gives it into the hands of women to usurp the power out of the hands of their husbands, rather than in a way of humility to seek their husband's good. If they can live comfortably abroad without them they regard not the troubles or temptations of their husbands at home and so become separate; which is far worse than the doctrine of devils which forbid to marry. . . . And this my will I make to be a warning to those women who have no love for their husbands but to what they have; which one had better had a wife that had not been worth a groat than to have one that hath no love for him.”

He furthermore directs that all his papers writ on bad wives such as he has met, be overlooked and



GRAVESTONE OF SEWALL'S FATHER AND MOTHER.



edited by some judicious person, "one that is for men to rule in their own house, that it may be a matter of benefit to some that may follow after me;" and that the editor shall have £30 or £40 for his trouble.

The conclusion of these two lives was that he died (1697) when she was abroad, and on her return she lived single until her demise in 1723.

She directed by her will that she should be buried in her first husband's (Dr. Hoar) grave at Braintree, which was at least the expression of her hope that in the Judgment Day she should not rise very near to Mr. Usher. The latter's "papers" have never been edited.

CHAPTER XIII.

BETTY SEWALL AND PURITAN MARRIAGES.

UPON occasion, Judge Sewall makes this entry : —

“Pray for good matches for my children as they grow up ; that they may be equally yoked.”

It was the Puritan habit to marry, not once, but several times, if death came to separate. It was not reputable not to marry ; and as the human instincts agreed with custom, there was much marrying in the Puritan commonwealth. Instances of old maids and bachelors, especially the latter, were rare ; though Sewall's eldest daughter, Hannah, died in middle age unmarried, a life-long invalid, in her father's house. The custom was held to be derived from the explicit directions of Scripture, and was for these several reasons well observed. In a matter of so much importance, strict laws were passed and enforced ; and very careful and sensible laws they were. It was made law in 1641 : —

“If any person shall wilfully and unreasonably deny any child timely or convenient marriage or shall exercise any unnatural severity towards them ; such children shall have liberty to complain to authority for redress in such cases.”

It was ordered in 1646 that no orphan, during her minority, should be given in marriage by any one except with the approbation of the major part of the selectmen of the town where the party resided. It was ordered in 1639 that no person shall be joined in marriage before the intention of both parties has been three times published at some public lecture or town meeting, in both towns where the parties reside, or be set up in writing upon some post of their meeting-house door in public view, there to stand, so as it may easily be read by the space of fourteen days. The publishing of marriages on the meeting-house door continued into the present generation. The laws also required a strict registry of marriages, births, and deaths.

In 1647 a very important law with a preamble, concerning marriages, was passed:—

“ And whereas God hath committed the care and power into the hands of parents for the disposing of their children in marriage, so that it is against rule to seek to draw away the affections of young maidens, under pretence of purpose of marriage, before their parents have given way and allowance in that respect; And whereas it is a common practice in diverse places, for young men irregularly and disorderly to watch all advantages for their evil purposes, to insinuate into the affections of young maidens, by coming to them in places and seasons unknown to their parents for such ends, whereby much evil hath grown amongst us, to the dishonor of God and damage of parties: For prevention whereof for time to come; It is further Ordered. That whatsoever person from henceforth, shall endeavor directly or indirectly, to draw away the affection of any maid in this jurisdiction under pretence of marriage, before he hath obtained liberty and allowance from her parents or governors (or in

absence of such) of the nearest magistrate, he shall forfeit for the first offence £5; for the second towards the party £10 and be bound to forbear any further attempt and proceedings in that unlawful design; And for the third offence he shall be committed to prison and upon hearing and conviction by the next Court shall be adjudged to continue in prison until the Court of Assistants shall see cause to release him."

Sewall himself always pays great respect to this law in managing matrimonial affairs for his children and others; and undoubtedly it was a law of good effect, however much it might sometimes interfere with the raw or senseless imaginings of lovers and idle youth above described. It seems to have been the custom for the elders intending a match, especially on the man's side, to send a suitable present to the lady's parents, as a preliminary to his approaches. If the match was to be refused, the present was probably returned. This custom perhaps explains a rather blind letter of Sewall's, with no address, but dated:—

BOSTON, Jan. 13, 1701.

MADAM;

The inclosed piece of silver, by its bowing, humble form bespeaks your favor for a certain young man in town. The name (Real) the motto (*Plus ultra*) seem to plead its suitableness for a present of this nature. Neither need you accept against the quantity; for you have the mends in your own hands; and by your generous acceptance you may make both it and the giver great.

Madam I am

Your affect friend

S. S

It was also ordered, in 1646, that no one should be married by any one except a magistrate or one appointed by the authorities. This law was due to

the reaction against the Church of England, where the clergyman always marries; and some still regard the rite as a sacrament. However, this law must have soon fallen into disuse; for we find in Sewall's time that marriage was solemnized by the minister. Yet under this law, as Winthrop tells us (*Journal II.*, 43), Governor Richard Bellingham, the last survivor of the patentees named in the charter, performed a marriage service for himself and his new bride:—

“His last wife was ready to be contracted to a friend of his who lodged in his house and by his consent had proceeded so far with her when on the sudden the Governor treated with her and obtained her for himself. He was fifty and the lady twenty and Bellingham also solemnized the marriage himself.”

An event such as this, and others like, scattered not plentifully through the Puritan annals, remind us that the Puritan in his love affairs could be as remorseless and as enterprising as when smiting at a Cavalier with his long sword, or hunting an Indian trail with a tribe of savages hid somewhere in the wild before his handful of white men. We may assume, in history, that in all those vital affairs, of which lovemaking is by no means the least, mankind constitutes one brotherhood. The ashes of all Puritan lovers are cold enough, but Sewall's *Diary* shows the blood to have been very warm which throbbed under Puritan bodice and doublet. Nor is evidence altogether lacking in Sewall's *Diary* that the Hester Prynne of Hawthorne's “*Scarlet Letter*” must have had her kin at hand,—cousins at least in blood.

Cold and stern, on a surface congested by most forbidding social customs, our forefathers and mothers loved mightily as they wrought. The true ladies of our old Boston life, as we see them in their portraits, seem to wear a veil of reserve thicker than those of their sisters of the East, and to exclude them elves from the ordinary weaknesses and passions of us mortals. But the eyes look straight and open, the head sets firm and steady, and it is often a sweet mouth that might easily vibrate with almost boundless contempt or anger, or grow set and pale in a crisis; and altogether they impress us as women of large reserved powers, — as many show themselves to be, — worthy mothers of a stalwart and able race.

Comedy and tragedy mix themselves in men's love affairs as in no other. Here is a bit of comedy worthy Hogarth, from an early entry in Sewall's Diary:—

“Saturday Even, Aug. 12, 1676. Just as supper ended Tim Dwight sank down in a swoon and for a good space so that he perceived not what was done unto him; after he awoke and sprawled, knocking his hands and feet upon the floor like a distracted man. Was carried pick pack to bed, there his clothes pulled off. The Sabbath following, Father went to him, asked if he would be prayed for and for what he would desire his friends to pray. He answered for more sight of sin and God's healing grace. I asked him, being alone with him whether his troubles were from outward cause or spiritual. He answered, spiritual. I asked why then he could not tell it his master, since it is the honor of any man to see sin and be sorry for it. He gave no answer as I remember. Asked him if he would go to meeting. He said 'twas in vain for him; 'his day was out.' I asked what day; he answered 'of Grace.' Notwithstanding all this semblance

(and much more than is written) of compunction for sin, 'tis to be feared that his trouble arose from a maid whom he passionately loved; for that when Mr. Dwight and his master had agreed to let him go to her he eftsoons grew well."

A happy recovery to Master Tim out of all his troubles!

There was one question concerning marriages which very acutely vexed the Puritan, especially as the profoundest of human passions was often arrayed against public opinion. The matter is stated by this extract from the colony laws (1679):—

"In answer to the question, Whether it be lawful for a man who hath buried his first wife to marry with her that was his first wife's natural sister, The Court resolves it on the negative."

The following letter of Sewall puts plainly the Puritan verdict on this point; especially their aversion, founded, as they thought, on the Mosaic Law, to marriages of too near blood:—

TO COUSIN JOHN SEWALL, at Newbury, Feb. 23, 1703.

You tell me you have been advised to marry the widow of your cousin German. You say you have thought it not so near as second cousins by blood. In this you are plainly mistaken, for it is by casuists laid down as a rule in these cases, that degrees of consanguinity and affinity do equally affect marriage. For my own part it is not plain to me that it is lawful for first cousins to marry. I rather incline to think it is unlawful. . . . Learned men and councils have been against these kind of matches; yet because you ask my advice, I will not refrain to give it. Do that which is safe, which is most safe, in a matter of the greatest importance. Be sure you have the license of Heaven to produce. If one were to purchase a hundred acres

of land to build and plant on; one would choose to have an undoubted and undefamed right to it; and not venture the perplexity and disappointment of a crazy title. Much more ought a man to be concerned, to choose such a woman to be his wife to whom he may have a good, clear, indisputable title without the least flaw or appearance of it. Do that which is honorable and of good report. (Phil. iv. 8, 9.) Marriage is honorable, James Printer told me the Indians call cousin Germans, brothers, as the Jews did. And he told me the Indians reckon many so near. 'Tis pity that any English Christian should need to be put to an Indian school to learn the practice of temperance and sobriety. The generality of good people use to be displeased and grieved at these matches; and ordinarily that which grieves the Saints grieves the Holy Spirit of God. . . .

Your loving uncle,

S. S.

Elizabeth, or "Betty" Sewall as her father calls her, was his fourth child, and was born Dec. 20, 1681. Her religious experience has already been given. So far as is known to us, there is no portrait of her extant, and only such personal history as is writ by the father, of whom she seems to have been a favorite child. But in the absence of all such testimony, and from the glimpses we get of her, we imagine her to have been a demure, fresh colored, shapely maiden, with the Saxon look the father has; not averse to beaux, but very careful whom and how she entertains; a trifle inconstant and unsteady about her heart, but, withal, as wholesome, fresh-natured, and by blood as vivacious and charming, a specimen of Puritan womanhood as thrived and wed in the colony. A few glimpses like this serve to explain her:—

"1600, Jan'y. At night George had been out with Betty who hid herself all alone, as before, till he was gone, so that we thought at first he came in of herself and looked very much surprised with her in my presence. Jan'y 11. 1600. She had been away because company was desired to go to know her mind better."

"Jan'y. 28. One Brother came in after dinner, and came in afterward and a red wine was brought in, and a glass of wine to me; and it fell to me to drink. She went out of the way at night and took a glass of wine; which surprised me, and I thought she was on purpose to mend the matter."

Sewall might mend his behavior in Council, but in 1600, Puritan Boston was no less a coquette as Betty Sewall was the coquette of his ways, and she was now courted by Mr. Grove. Hirst apparently was a Puritan, but of her own tastes and tastes, though they finally merged. Of course, after coming home from his Council, he was now

"Find my family in London, and deny Mr. Hirst and my own tastes."

Years before he had written to her:

"Little Betty, I have been thinking of you things now, and I am sure of it."

This passage, in its simplicity, reminds one of Shakespeare's *Othello*:

"Her voice was even as music,
Gentle and low, as gentle as the song

The subjoined letter of advice to his daughter in regard to her relations with Mr. Hirst is an admirable summary of practical truths which those intending courtship might ponder with profit : —

ELIZABETH. Mr. Hirst waits on you once more to see if you can bid him welcome. It ought to be seriously considered, that your drawing back from him after all that has passed between you will be to your Prejudice ; and will tend to discourage persons of worth from making their Court to you. And you had need well to consider whether you be able to bear his final leaving of you howsoever it may seem grateful to you at present. When persons come toward us, we are apt to look upon their Undesirable Circumstances mostly ; and thereupon to shun them. But when persons retire from us for good and all, we are in danger of looking only on that which is desirable in them, to our woeful disquiet. Wherein it is the property of a good Balance to turn where the most weight is, though there be some also in the other scale. I do not see but the Match is well liked by judicious persons and such as are your Cordial Friends, and mine also.

Yet notwithstanding, if you find in yourself an unmovable, incurable Aversion from him, and cannot love and honor and obey him, I shall say no more, nor give you any further trouble in this matter. It had better be off than on. So praying God to pardon us and pity our Undeserving and to direct and strengthen and settle you in making a right judgment and giving a right answer, I take leave, who am, Dear Child,

Your loving father.

Your mother remembers to you.

The upshot of the matter is as follows in the Diary : —

“ Oct. 18, 1700. In the following evening Mr. Grove Hirst and Elizabeth Sewall are married by Mr. Cotton Mather.”

Sewall had only four out of his fourteen children who married, most dying young; and one of these, at least, made anything but a happy marriage. Considering all things, it would be hardly true to say that the marriages of Sewall's children rivalled at all that of their parents. But eight years later another daughter was about to assume the silken ties, and here, again, the way was a trifle rough.

Sewall's daughter Mary was now about to have a beau, Mr. Gerrish of Wenham, bent on serious business. Sewall proceeds to make preparations. The elders on both sides had had probably their consultations, and Sewall now proceeded to prayer.

"Jany. 24. 1709. I propound to Joseph to pray with his mother and me for his sister Mary; he declines it and I pray and was assisted with considerable agony and importunity with many tears The Lord hear and help." "Jany. 31. Mr. Spencer calls here and I enquire of him about Mr. Gerrish of Wenham, what he should say. He answered not directly; but said his cousin would come, if he might have admittance. I told him I heard he went to Mr. Coney's daughter. He said he knew nothing of that. I desired him to enquire and tell me. I understood he undertook it; but he came no more."

Here was *finesse* somewhere; but Sewall was a hard man to beat, looking out for his own, and, besides, was one of the richest of Puritan papas.

"Feby. 4. Nurse Smith buried. Coming from the grave I asked Mr. Pemberton [the parson] whether S. Gerrish courted Mr. Coney's daughter. He said no: not now. Mr. Coney thought his daughter young." "Feby. 7. I delivered a letter to S. Gerrish to inclose and send to his father which he promises to do. Feby. 17. I receive Mr. Gerrish's letter just at night.

Feb. 18. I leave word at Mr. Gerrish's [S. G.] shop that I would speak with him after Mr. Bromfield's meeting was over. He came and I bid him welcome to my house as to what his father writ about. So late, hardly fit then to see my daughter, appointed him to come on Tuesday, invited him to supper. I observe he drunk to Mary in the third place. Feb. 23. When I came from the meeting at Mr. Stevens, I found him in the chamber, Mr. Hirst and wife [Betty Sewall] here. It seems he asked to speak with Mary below; her mother was afraid because the fire was newly made; and Mr. Hirst brought him up. Thus, I knew not of: He asked me below, whether it were best to frequent my house before his father came to town. I said that were the best introduction; but he was welcome to come before and bid him come on Friday night." "Feb. 24. Mr. Hirst tells me Mr. Gerrish courted Mr. Coney's daughter. I told him I knew it and was uneasy. Friday Feb. 25. In the evening S. Gerrish comes not; we expected him, Mary dressed her self, it was a painful disgraceful disappointment." "Saturday. Sam Gerrish goes to Wenham unknown to me, till Lord's Day night Capt Greenleaf told me of it. He was not seen by us till Wednes March 2."

The course of true love was not just then running smooth in the Sewall family; but on March 14:

"The Revd Mr. Joseph Gerrish [*John*] comes to our house in the evening and dines with us the next day. At night his son comes and Mary goes to him. Comes the next night also." "Friday night. S. Gerrish comes. Tell Mary except Saturday and Lord's Day night intends to wait on her every night; unless something extraordinary happens."

This is the first time in the Diary, so far as has been noted, when Sewall applies the term "reverend" to a minister.

"June 3. Mary returns well from Wenham. *Letter Dec.*" [She had been out to see her lover's family, all which promises

well for a wedding. Midweek, Aug. 24. The wedding comes.]
“In the evening Mr. Pemberton marries Mr. Samuel Gerrish and my daughter Mary. He began with prayer and Mr. Gerrish, the bridegroom's father concluded.”

Next day Mr. Cotton Mather and Mr. Pemberton and wife, with others, dined with Sewall, who invited the governor and Council, with about twenty others, to drink a glass of wine with him in the evening. The house was well filled with the Boston fashion.

“Gave them variety of good drink and at going away a large piece of cake wrapped in paper. They very heartily wished me joy of my daughter's marriage.”

Mary Sewall's married life was short. She died in her father's house Nov. 16, 1710, a little more than a year after her nuptials.

CHAPTER XIV.

ANNE BRADSTREET AND OUR PURITAN LITERATURE.

"How doth his warmth redden thy frozen cheek,
And trim thee brave in green, after thy black.
Both man and beast rejoice at his approach,
And birds do sing to see his glittering coach."

ANNE BRADSTREET ON "The Sun and Earth."

FOR reasons evident to every student of that period, our early Puritan literature is scant and a trifle starved. Letters require leisure, and leisure presupposes a more or less comfortable estate; while our forefathers were among the busiest of mortals, and fortunes, for the most part, lay in a not near future. Besides, literature for the Puritan was more than a trifle aside from his mission and his temper. What had he to do with sonnets, epigrams, idyls, or verses to a lady's eyes? he who was always confronting the Judgment Day, and agonizing with all his English energy, on land or sea, to attain, it haply he might find it, to the reward of the just made perfect. Besides, had not the emissaries of the Evil One been busy with their pens against God and his saints? Were there not Hudibras Butler, Congreve, and Wycherley, Vanbrugh, and a host of others to fling mud at him and to asperse his holy cause?

Had not even that gentle daughter of Israel, Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson written : " Every stage and every table and every puppet play belched forth profane scoffs upon them [the Puritans]; the drunkards made their songs and all fiddlers and mimics learned to abuse them as finding it the most gainful way of fooling " ? So polite literature came very close, in the Puritan consciousness, to a profanity. It is quite possible that there were not five copies, perhaps not one, of Shakespeare's plays in Massachusetts Bay for nigh the first hundred years. And even these five very likely were brought in by people not Puritans. Judge Sewall notes in his Diary that he found and perused at a certain place on his circuit a copy of Ben Jonson ; but that place was in Rhode Island. It was true that in England John Milton, both in prose and verse, had written books which the world will not willingly let die ; but these books were either on Puritan politics or religion, and gave themselves little concern with the mere æsthetics or forms of literary art. The Puritan painted no pictures and wrote no plays. But if this be a true record, it should be at once added that this same Puritan spent his life in creating those substances out of which literature enriches itself. The world has not yet recognized the rich stores of romance and tragedy which are unappropriated in the history of the New England Puritans. Hawthorne has done his part generously, but there are more to come. The disturbances of home-life among the Puritan clergy in Old England, when they were driven from

their rectories, and their sons and daughters, with broken social ties that had run, may be, into the circle of House and Castle, made wanderers and with a social brand; men separated from their wives in the long, uncertain Atlantic voyage, and wives at home in the passive but mighty heroism of those who wait and must be still; letters out of those same homes with names of the new-born, or a sad wail sounding across seas for the first-born of the defenceless flock; all the blood, the plot, the violence of Indian wars; all the ravages of pirate ships along the coast some of whose sailors were prodigals out of pious families, born of the very blood they spoiled, and whose punishment, when taken, was the gallows at the hands of kindred; all the plannings, craft, uncertainties of politics, over which friends broke from each other, and plighted sons and daughters were forced to face broken vows, in a strife which ran through British governors and patriot deputies, from Andrew and the elder Dudley to Gage and Samuel Adams; all distances of abode and an ever changing estate of men and women whose passions of love or hate were not cooled, but rather made intense, by the strange, exacting, but tonic life of the New England land—all these are still unexhausted storerooms from which genius one day will bring forth riches in triumph.

There are exceptions to this statement of the actual poverty of our early New England literature, provided we make the word elastic enough. If sermons and religious controversies are to be counted

in, there is plenty of that sort; indeed, a singular fecundity. Cotton Mather is a wonder in composition, — unique in quantity, and the reverse in quality; cultivating, as a wit puts it, his memory till he lost his mind. There are others who approach him in these respects. — There are two mysteries in the old New England civilization which demand solving by some one. (1) Fourth, why and where did that composite holy day and fast day all in one, the Puritan Sabbath, come from? (2) Why and where did the New England Puritan sermon come from? To some men who have looked at the proceedings, and seen the cattiness of the *sermon*, and the cautious precipitate haste to recede from the subject, succeeded, the bewilderment is a little like what must have been the mind of the ancient Jude when asked, "Out of whose womb came the rock?" And the heavy host of heaven, who hath pondered it? — How men could ever write, or other men listen to, or read, such publications, is, like the wisdom of God, past finding out. Yet there are libraries of such books, hid away from this judicious generation for dirt and neglect. — And except as warnings to the careless generation of scribes, or to furnish some occasional fact or authority to the historian, it is difficult to see what their chief use is in them.

There are also many minor and simple accounts, and narratives of travels, voyages, and current events in the New England Commonwealth, which would ways have a certain interest to the antiquarian and the philosopher of men. They, too, being in the

their shroud of dust, and give little bread to the hungry.

There are two marked exceptions to the general drift of old New England literature. In brief, these are John Winthrop's Journal and the Winthrop papers in general, and Judge Sewall's Diary. The respect of this book for the Winthrop character and agency in moulding New England is everywhere in its pages; and Sewall's Diary must speak for itself.

There are also another class of writings, substantially, histories or travels which, though in general in bad form, have a certain archaic value likely to last. The brave, heroic Daniel Gookin, Sewall's friend for the Indians, who stood so bold and right for the good ones in King Philip's War, and who became so unpopular that the very "small boys" hunted him in his house, and who after stood equally straight against English emissaries like Randolph, until he became the most popular man in the colony, was said to have written a valuable history of his times, especially touching the red men and Christianity, the manuscript of which was destroyed by fire. But Wm. Wood in his "New England Prospect" shows marked literary skill, and the naturalist, Evelyn has somewhat to be read. The political and theological tracts are numerous.

One man, and he the strongest writer, may be taken to represent Puritan authorship here of the second class,—Nathaniel Ward of Andover, now Ipswich. He graduated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1603, and resided at the university in one of

its learned writers and scholars. He was the literary friend of men like Sir Francis Bacon, Archbishop Usher, and the divine, Parens of Heidelberg. First he studied and practised law ; travelled several years on the Continent, and then took orders in the Anglican Church. For ten years he was a country parson in Essex, where he was excommunicated for his Puritanism (and probably his tongue) by Archbishop Laud in 1633. Then with all this wealth of learning and experience, he came here, and settled as pastor in the wilderness at Ipswich, where, nevertheless, he sometimes had several university men in his congregation, Simon Bradstreet among them. While on the Continent, somehow he made the intimate acquaintance of the family of the unfortunate but beautiful Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I., and so sister of Charles I., but now married to the Elector Palatine of Germany (with her ruined but ivy-clad tower in Heidelberg Castle still standing), and appears to have been attached to her court. Anyway, he seems to have dandled her infant son,—after, the famous Prince Rupert. For when, years after, Prince Rupert had become the profane, brave soldier he was, “swearing like a trooper,” Rev. Nathaniel Ward wrote from across seas into England:—

“I have had him in my arms. . . . I wish I had him there now. If I mistake not he promised then to be a good prince ; but I doubt he hath forgot it. If I thought he would not be angry with me I would pray hard to his Maker to make him a right Roundhead, a wise-hearted Palatine, a thankful man to the English : to forgive all his sins, and at length to save his soul notwithstanding all his God-damme’s.”

In 1647, with the strife between king and parliament running swiftly towards the king's scaffold, Ward, this long-brained, cultured man, as Professor Tyler so felicitously says, with a radical brain and a conservative heart, wrote his "Simple Cobbler of Agawam," an "oaky," rambling book, a prose satire on the mental chaos of the times, New England varieties, and English politics.

The title-page runs curiously thus :

"The Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America, willing to help mend his native country, lamentably tattered both in the upper leather and sole, - with all the honest strife he can take; and as willing never to be paid for his work, he old English wonted pay. It is his trade to patch all the year long, gratis. Therefore I pray gentlemen keep your paces. By THEODORE DE LA GUARD. IN RHODANTHO, VERBIS ET FACTIS ORTISSIMA QUAEQUE CONSILIA TUTISSIMA SEQUITUR. In English :

When boots and shoes are torn up to the tops,
Cobblers must thrust their awls up to the tops;
This is no time to fear Apell's grand;
'Ne sutor quidem ultra crepidam.'"

The keynote is in the opening sentence—

"Either I am in an apoplexy or that man is now a fool who doth not now sensibly feel God shaking the heavens over his head and the earth under his feet. . . . The truth is that God are the pillars of the world, whereon states and churches may stand quiet if they will; if they will not he can easily shake them off into delusions and distractions enough."

In mere felicity of phrase Roger Williams is perhaps entitled to carry off the palm from all his New

England contemporaries. He often appears in these pages ; and the reader will often remark a delicacy in the phrase or turn of his sentence which is rare now, as it certainly was then. Never with the balanced and able mind of a man like John Winthrop, and by nature not even a good wreckmaster of the very things which he would have destroyed ; yet no wise man will willingly affront his memory, even when pointing out his weaknesses. The fact is that Roger Williams was made up after a polyglot pattern. He was a sort of Oriental caravan, bearing all sorts of balm, myrrh, and frankincense for delight and use ; but he wandered often from the track, brought little bread, though a few pearls of great price, and, to say truth, had not great store of anything to feed the hungry into mastery in the land to which he fared.

Yet his spices are still fragrant. Here are a few :—

“Alas, Sir, in calm midnight thoughts what are these leaves and flowers and smoke and shadows and dreams of earthly nothings about which we poor fools and children, as David saith, disquiet ourselves in vain.”

“We are born to trouble as the sparks are to fly upward. Above the sun is our rest in the Alpha and Omega of all blessedness, unto whose arms of everlasting mercy, I commend you, desirous to be yours, even in Him.”

“Your worships, sorry that I am not more yours and neither of us more the Lord’s.”

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Speaking of a hard winter, with deep snows, he writes :—

“It hath pleased the Most High to besiege us all with his white legions.” “Prince Rupert was one whose name in these

parts sounds as a north-east snow storm." "It is better to undergoable death than a slave's life."

Here is an epigram worthy of being written on the senate house of any free people.

"I fear not so much iron and steel as the cutting of our throats with golden knives."

By some standards none of these books would be ranked as literature; though there was not one of these men who had not in him the power of literature, both as to form and substance. Coward's *Diary* may be only reckoned a storehouse in which literature may find its riches; yet the man who could write in as good form as this, had he set about it, could have written what would stand the brunt of most modern criticism:

"Communion with God is the centre which is the motion of a weary soul; 'tis the rest and refreshment of a weary spirit. (Psalm 116. 7) 'Return unto thy rest O my soul.' When we attain perfect communion with God in heaven, we attain to perfect rest; and all the rest the spirit of man finds on earth is found in communion with God."

Composed by S. S. in London while on his visit to England.

Perhaps (to indulge in the pleasantry of a conscious bull) the one real literary man of these old days in New England was a woman. Anne Bradstreet. If so, the honor, justly given, derives itself not more from her performance than from the fact that she seems to have given herself more to writing, as a serious business than any New England man of

affairs (her own father and husband, for instance) had leisure.

Anne Bradstreet was born in England (1612), probably at Northampton. Her father, Thomas Dudley, after associate with Winthrop in the Puritan Exodus of 1630, and later governor of the colony, was the son of Captain Roger Dudley, killed in battle about 1586. He himself had been a soldier, and of later years steward to the Earl of Lincoln, whose estates he rescued from their embarrassments, proving himself an able business man, and raising Simon Bradstreet, son of a Nonconformist minister to be his coadjutor in the task. At a very early age Anne Bradstreet, from her father's official position, was much at the castle, and was there educated by the magnificence and culture common to a nobleman's house of that era. At the age of sixteen, in 1628, she married Simon Bradstreet, nine years her senior, with whom she lived till her death at sixty (1672). They emigrated to New England, where the husband became colonial secretary, judge, legislator, governor, ambassador, royal ambassador, and soldier in turn, dying at the age of ninety-four. After several changes in abode, the family finally settled near Andover, Mass., where she reared eight children, although of a delicate constitution; and in this quiet country home most of her literary work was done, before thirty, — from 1630 to 1642. It will surprise some to read that her writings were enough to fill a royal octavo volume of some four hundred pages. She herself writes of her earlier life:—

"After a short time I changed my condition and was married and came into this country where I found a new world and new manners at which my heart rose. But after I was convinced it was the way of God I submitted to it."

No wonder that a lady, raised almost in an earl's family, should feel her heart rise against the almost sordid, certainly the low, estate, especially of the Lord's maidens, who were also wives, set to rear families in the New England wild.

It is not intended here either to catalogue or analyze Anne Bradstreet's literary work, or, indeed, to give much more than significant extracts from her writings. Any one who would study the subject thoroughly, is respectfully referred to a charming life of her written in the most crystal English by the late John Harvard Elles, who evidently himself died too early not to bequeath a loss to American historical literature. But one point should be looked at beforehand. It will surprise very many to hear that the Puritans of New England were almost universally addicted to verse making, very much in the same fashion as led the Lady Mary Montagu to say that in her time "verse making had become as common as taking snuff." Rather poor verses they no doubt were in both cases; but men and women made them all the same, and in case of the Puritans, probably for two reasons. Assuming the fact to be substantially as stated, — and it must be remembered that the Puritans as English folk had inherited from their Saxon, Norse, and Celtic ancestry about as much folklore in the shape of jingling rhymes and saws in

verse full of an earthy, robust common-sense, as any people on the face of the globe, — these rhymes and saws in their almost universal currency would make some sort of rough rhyme-making and versification a natural avocation for our forefathers. Governor Dudley, her father, died with a copy of some verses in his pocket ; and Anne Bradstreet, evidently a sensitive and imaginative child, must have heard the like, and no doubt better, from her youth up. Besides, it should never be forgot that the honest Puritans, both men and women, lived in a sort of religious ecstasy which was bred even more from a quivering heart than their strong head. As is well known, all strong emotion tends to express itself rhythmically, and takes on the form of poetry, as is often seen in very young and sensitive children, who, when led away from a death-bed, or the spot where a favorite dog or bird has just been buried, proceed to make a poem on the sad event, in all sincerity of grief. So far, we may be sure that Anne Bradstreet was reared in such an atmosphere, where poetical feeling, as it does everywhere to-day, far outruns all or any artistic forms of poetical expressions. Yet, on the other hand, a comparison of dates will show that Anne Bradstreet's era is one of poetical expression and performance, hardly excelled before or since in England.

Here are a few extracts from poems addressed to relatives ; this first to her father, Governor Thomas Dudley, whom she elsewhere calls a magazine of history, her guide and instructor in her love of books : —

"Most truly honored and as truly dear
 It worth in me or aught I do appear
 Who can of right better demand the same
 Than may your worthy self from whom it came."

A. B.

Next, an epitaph on "my dear and ever-honored
 mother," Mrs. Dorothy Dudley, who died 1643,
 .E. 61 :

MRS. DOROTHY DUDLEY.
 ANNE LEADSTEE'S MOTHER.

A worthy matron of unspotted life
 A loving mother and obedient wife
 A friendly neighbor, pitiful to poor
 Whom oft she fed and clothed with her store.
 To servant, wisely awful, but yet kind,
 And as they did, so they reward did find;
 A true instructor of her family
 The which she ordered with dexterity.
 The public meetings ever did frequent,
 And in her choest constant hours she spent;
 Religious in all her words and ways
 Preparing still for death, till end of days;
 Of all her children, children lived to see
 Then dying left a blessed memory.

Next, a quaint conceit on her own children :—

"I had eight birds hatched in one nest
 Four cocks, there were, and hens the rest
 I nursed them up with pain and care
 Nor cost nor labor did I spare,
 'Till at the last they felt their wing
 Mounted the trees, and learned to sing."

A. B.

"Upon my son Samuel [her eldest son] going for
 England, Nov. 6, 1657": —

"Thou mighty God of sea and land
I here resign into thy hand
The son of prayers, of vows, of tears
The child I stayed for many years.
Thou heard'st me then and gav'st him me.
Hear me again I give him Thee,
He's mine but more O Lord thine own,
For sure thy grace on him is shown
No friend I have like Thee to trust
For mortal helps are brittle dust
Preserve, O Lord from storms and wrack
Protect him there and bring him back :
And if thou shalt spare me a space
That I again may see his face
Then shall I celebrate thy praise
And bless Thee for't even all my days.
If otherwise I go to rest
Thy will be done, for that is best
Persuade my heart I shall him see
Forever happily'd with Thee."

The true Puritan rage against the English Church and Crown is very vividly expressed in these lines, addressed, apparently, to her native land, considered somehow as existing apart from both :

"Dear Mother cease complaints and wipe your eyes,
Shake off your dust, cheer up and now arise,
You are my mother nurse and I your flesh . . .
Blest be the noble, of thy noble land
With ventur'd lives for Truth's defence that stand,
Blest be thy common, who, for common good
And the infringed Laws, have boldly stood,
Blest be thy counties, who did aid thee still
With hearts and state, to testify their will,
Blest be thy preachers, who do cheer thee on,
O, cry the sword of God and Gideon : [Judges, vii. 18. 20.]
And shall I not on them with Men's courage
That help thee not with prayers, arms and power ?

And for my self let miseries abound
 It mindle of thy state I e'er be found.
 These are the days the church's foes to crush
 To root out Popelings, head, tail, branch, and nesh;
 Let's bring Baal's vestments forth to make a fire
 Their Myrrours, Supplices, and all their fire
 Capes, ratchets, crookes, and such empty trash
 And let their names conume, but let the flash
 Light Christendome and all the world to see
 We hate Rome's whore with all her trumpery.
 Go on brave Zed with a loyal heart
 Not false to King nor to the better part;
 But those that hurt his people and his crown
 A duty bind, expel and tread them down."

But undoubtedly the most remarkable of all the literary performances of Anne Bradstreet is her "Meditations," which she dedicates to her son in the letter subjoined:

FOR MY DEAR SON SIMON BRADSTREET.

Parents perpetuate their lives in their posterity and their manner in their imitation. Children do naturally follow the failings than the virtues of their predecessors, but I am persuaded better things of you. You once desired me to leave something for you in writing that you might look upon when you should see me no more. I could think of nothing more fit for you, nor of more ease to myself than these short Meditations following. Such as they are I bequeathe to you: small legacies are accepted by true friends, much more by dutiful children. . . . The Lord bless you with grace here and crown you with glory hereafter that I may meet you with rejoicing at that great day of appearing which is the continual prayer of

Your affectionate mother

A. B.

March 20, 1664.

MEDITATIONS.

There is no object that we see; no action that we do; no good that we enjoy; no evil that we feel or fear but we may make some spiritual advantage of all; and he that makes such improvement is wise as well as pious.

Many can speak well but few can do well. We are better scholars in the theory than in the practical part; but he is a true Christian who is a proficient in both.

Youth is the time of getting; middle age of improving and old age of spending; a negligent youth is usually attended by an ignorant middle age and both by an empty old age. He that hath nothing to feed on but vanity and lies must needs lie down in the bed of Sorrow.

The finest bread hath the least bran; the purest honey, the least wax; and the sincerest Christian the least selflove.

Downy beds make drowsy persons but hard lodging keeps the eyes open. A prosperous state makes a secure Christian but adversity makes him consider.

Sweet words are like honey — a little may refresh but too much gluts the stomach.

Authority without wisdom is like a heavy axe without an edge, fitter to bruise than polish.

The reason why Christians are so loath to exchange this world for a better, is because they have more sense than faith; they *see* what they enjoy they do but *hope* for that which is to come.

If we had no winter the spring would not be so pleasant; if we did not sometimes taste of adversity, prosperity would not be so welcome.

That house which is not often swept, makes the cleanly inhabitant soon loathe it, and that heart which is not continually purifying itself, is no fit temple for the Spirit of God to dwell in.

Corn till it have past through the powder, is not fit for bread. God he grinds them with grief and pain then are they fit bread for his Mansion.

He that walks among briers and where he sets his foot. And he that ness of this world had need ponder all

An aching head requires a soft pillow strong support.

Dim eyes are the concomitants of edness in those that are eyes of a repul state.

Sore laborers have hard hands and consciences.

Wickedness comes to its height by say of a less sin, "Is it not a little on greater, "Tush! God regards it not!"

Fire hath its force abated by water, must be allayed by cold words and not

As the brands of a fire, if once severed out, although you use no other means distance of place together with length intercourse) will cool the affections of there should be no displeasance between

Since Anne Bradstreet's day, England sisters of Puritan stock, Puritan ideas of liberty and piety fairly won fame before the world and artists, while others are surely gates of the great temple. By the river of the lordly elms, intent tides, have dwelt and will, women world purer and the next nearest

(sometimes in prose) which they have written and lived out. It is they, at least, and women like them of Massachusetts Bay, who will keep in honor the memory of their eldest New England sister in their great Guild of Letters, — Anne Bradstreet.

CHAPTER XV.

SEWALL AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

IT is hardly to the honor of that part of the human race called Christians, that they have been so seldom able either to understand or withstand human opinions adverse to their own, with charity. For charity, as time shows, is not only the first of Christian virtues, but it is also the youngest and most difficult. The British race, in managing its religious affairs, reveals this defective habit of man. The agnostic, of course, regards all this with wonder or contempt. For men to quarrel over a guess, and spend lives and gold over a remote hypothesis; to die, self-exiled, in some far-off clime among savages, forsaking home and fatherland, for a delusion from which that common-sense which is all men's birthright should have saved them,—is to him acutely absurd. Yet men, and those, too, of no base degree, have done this a thousand times. But British Christians have never been of the agnostic type. No men ever held more dogmatically and unswervingly to their religion than those children of the English Reformation called Puritans. What for them was true in Christianity was true in all time and space. What was contrary

hereto was equally false in duration and extension. Since, then, their religion was, in their mind, man's salvation, its opposite must work man's perdition; and he who upheld that opposite must be logically the enemy of the human race. It makes naught to say that the Puritan, having rejected the old church as false authority, made himself a new and more vulgar one, which lacked even the dignity of antiquity. Such are ever the necessities and limits of the human mind in religion, that it will find what it thinks solid ground somewhere to stand on, and will allow no one to meddle with its foundations. Neither modesty nor timidity will cause it, when the gauntlet of its adversary is thrown down, to hesitate to pick it up.

For the Puritan, his new religion was both an ecstasy and a fanaticism. His strong, sturdy English nature, inflamed with his new love, became revolt and bitterness against its enemies. "It was the Puritan pulpit," as Dr. South said, "that supplied the field with swordsmen and the parliament house with incendiaries."

It resulted, hence, that Puritan zeal evoked a counter flame in its enemies often quite as consuming as its own. This was in measure true as regards the opponents of the Reformation everywhere. That mediæval church, which had reposed in the serenity of its unquestioned creeds for a thousand years and more, giving the Holy Bread and the Kiss of Peace to its laity, with only an occasional fire-stroke at sporadic men like Huss and Savonarola,

roused itself at the new danger, to preach death to the heretics, and to argue that as heresy destroyed the soul, while other murder only destroyed the body, heresy should be erased with fire and sword as the greatest of crimes. Hence Alva, the Spanish Armada, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and the untold misery of man. It hardly avails to say that we, heirs of a privilege which the men of old purchased with their sorrow, are wiser. Wiser we may be, but better only with a limit. The Puritan religion may have been an evil, but is no religion a good? Liberty of conscience may be a good, but if it be followed by the lack, what then? The reformers and their enemies hated each other in a circle, but each loved somewhat which was and is true and fruitful of good. As we pass, two quotations may serve to cast a sidelight upon the earnestness and bitterness of the Reformation age, as between the old and the new.

One Romanist, to show his absolute faith in Transubstantiation, said that he believed Christ not only to be present in the Sacrament, but that he was there booted and spurred as he rode to Jerusalem.

The underlying bitterness of the Reformation age against Rome and her mysteries is perhaps exposed as well as in any other way in a carved group in Strasbourg Cathedral, where was represented a boar carrying the holy waterpot and sprinkling-brush; a wolf, the cross; a hare, the taper; a pig and a goat, a box of relics in which lay a sleeping fox; and an ass reading mass, whilst a cat served as reading-desk.

All this was to a degree true of the controversy between the Puritan and the Church of England. Neither side was indifferently Christian. Both were Protestant, and advocates of reform. Both agreed to withstand the claims of Rome, and had withstood together the Jesuits and the Armada. The question at issue between the two was as to more or less in reform, and the Puritan stood stoutly for more. Error and wrong were on both sides; only the Church of England, being in power, imposed, by now historic public acts, through its ally, the Crown, its judgments upon the Puritan; and these were sometimes wrong. The Puritan had his way under Cromwell and the Commonwealth. That he was always right, few would hardly care to affirm; especially in the face of the fact that in the Restoration of Charles II. the English nation declared that it would brook Puritanism, as a governing force, no longer. Yet the bitterness was there, and corroded. Before remarking on Sewall's attitude, as a representative man, towards the Church of England, it is only fair to place as a background the current church attitude towards the Puritan, as seen in a very spicy correspondence between Roger Williams and Mrs. Sadlier, daughter of the famous lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, a lady apparently of much spirit and mental acumen, but a Church-of-England woman. Williams had been a *protégé* of Sir Edward, and on his visit to England, in 1653, addressed the daughter a characteristic letter, accompanied by some of his own books as a present. The letter begins:—

LONDON, 1652.

"MY MUCH HONORED FRIEND, MRS. SADLIER,—

"The never-dying honor and respect which I owe to that dear honorable root and his branches, and among the rest to your much honored self, have emboldened me once more to enquire after your dear husband's and your life and health and welfare."

He then proceeds to magnify his own travails in the wilderness, and to give the lady a round dose of the current Puritan piety. She replies :—

MR. WILLIAMS ;

Since it hath pleased God to make the prophet David's complaint ours. (Psalm lxxix.) O God the heathen have come into our inheritance [the Puritans were now in power], I have given over reading many books and therefore with thanks have returned yours. Those that I now read, besides the Bible, are first, the late King's book [Charles I., lately beheaded by Williams's friends]; Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; Rev. Bishop Andrew's Sermons with his other divine meditations; Dr. Jeremy Taylor's works; and Dr. Thomas Jackson upon the Creed. Some of these, my dear father was a great admirer of and would often call them the glorious lights of the Church of England. These lights shall be my guide. I wish they may be yours; for your new lights that are so much cried up, I believe, in the conclusion they will prove but dark lanterns; therefore I dare not meddle with them.

Your friend in the old way,

ANNE SADLIER.

Not a whit discouraged by this rather tart reply, Williams returns to his point with :—

"MY MUCH HONORED KIND FRIEND, MRS. SADLIER ;

"Your last letter, my honored friend, I received as a bitter sweeting—[a kind of well-known English apple]—as all that is under the sun is—sweet in that I hear from you and that you continue striving for life eternal; bitter in that we differ about

the way, in the midst of the dangers and distresses. You were pleased to direct me to divers books for my satisfaction. I have carefully endeavored to get them and some I have gotten ; and upon my reading, I purpose with God's help, to render you an ingenious and candid account of my thoughts, results &c. At present I am humbly bold to pray your judicious and loving eye to one of mine.

" 'Tis true I cannot but expect your distaste of it ; and yet my cordial desire of your soul's peace here, and eternal, and of contributing the least mite to it, and my humble respects to that blessed root of which you spring, force me to tender my acknowledgments, which if received or rejected, my cries shall never cease that one eternal life shall give us meeting, since this present minute hath such bitter partings."

"The one of mine" turns out to be a controversial tract against Rev. John Cotton, asserting that "in soul-matters no weapons but soul-weapons are reaching and effectual." Cotton, it appears, had controverted a former tract of Williams's, entitled "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience." He signs himself :—

"I am your most unworthy servant, yet unfeignedly respectful,

"ROGER WILLIAMS."

To which Mrs. Sadlier replies :—

SIR ; I thank God my blessed parents bred me up in the old and best religion and it is my glory that I am a member of the Church of England, as it was when all the reformed Churches gave her the right hand. When I cast my eye on the frontispiece of your book and saw it entitled "The Bloody Tenent" I durst not venture to look into it, for fear it should bring into my memory the much blood that has of late been shed and which I would fain forget ; therefore I do with thanks return it. I can-

not call to mind any blood shed for cor that went about to make a rent in our Church were punished, but none suffere know that since it has been left to every fancy what religion he list, there has more shed than was in the ten persecutions. Al will, I fear, cry till the day of judgment, the Scripture says, that when there was no man did that which was right in his own came of that, the sacred story will tell you.

Thus Entreating you to trouble me no m wishing you a good journey to your charge rest,

Your friend in the old and be

But the man who always insisted t fighter of all England, George Fox, away from a discussion with him a was not to be denied this way, even proceeds with a long letter, in whic Puritan knife into the old sores, at words of King Charles I. Yet be and the close are colored with a c charity very amiable, after two ce reader : —

(WINT

MY HONORED, KIND FRIEND, MRS. SADLI

I greatly rejoice to hear from you, althoug to me, even in the highest points of heaven. This I humbly pray for your precious sou. Father of mercies, even your eternal joy an nestly desirous to be in the old way, which which leads to life, which few find.

Your most humble, though most unwor

RO

Mrs. Sadlier, as is customary, had the last word, and it was a bitter one :—

MR. WILLIAMS;

I thought my first letter would have given you so much satisfaction, that, in that kind I should never have heard of you any more ; but it seems you have a face of brass, so that you cannot blush. . . . For the foul and false aspersions that you have cast upon that King of ever blessed memory, Charles the martyr, I protest I trembled when I read them, and none but such a villain as yourself would have wrote them. . . . For Milton's book that you desire I should read, if I be not mistaken, that is he that hath wrote a book of the lawfulness of divorce ; and if report says true, he had at that time two or three wives living. This, perhaps, were good doctrine in New England ; but it is most abominable in Old England. For his book that he wrote against the late King, that you would have me read, you should have taken notice of God's judgment upon him, who stroke him with blindness, and, as I have heard, he was fain to have the help of one Andrew Marvell, or else he could not have finished that most accursed libel. God has begun his judgment upon him here — his punishment will be hereafter in hell. But have you seen the answer to it? If you can get it, I assure you it is worth the reading. [From all which it is plain that the Puritans were not the only privy councillors of God who knew exactly what he did with his poor creatures in the other world.] . . . Bishop Laud's book against Fisher I have read long since ; which if you have not done, let me tell you he has deeply wounded the pope ; and I believe, howsoever he be slighted, he will rise a saint, when many seeming ones, as you are, will rise devils.

I cannot conclude without putting you in mind how dear a lover and great an admirer my father was of the liturgy of the Church of England and would often say, no reform church had the like. He was constant to it, both in his life and at his death. I mean to walk in his steps.

By what I have now writ you know how I stand affected. I will walk as directly to heaven as I can, in which place, if you

will turn from being a rebel and fear God and obey the King here is hope I may meet you there ; howsoever trouble me no more with your letters for they are very troublesome to her that wishes you in the place from whence you came.

ANNE SADLIER.

On the outside of Williams's first letter to her is a note of hers upon him, which in style and temper sounds very much like a description for the police. It concludes thus :—

“ I leave his letters, that, if ever he has the face to return into his native country, Tyburn may give him welcome.”

Sewall himself inherited the Puritan bitterness, and he shows it. Though born in England, his whole makeup, except his blood in heredity, was as a son of New England. He came on the stage after Cromwell and the Commonwealth, when the Puritans were embittered by defeat and severe laws of repression and hardship. Puritanism had grown sullen, sore, and expectant, biding its time, which came in the American Revolution. Sewall was in full sympathy with it ; and the one thing from which he is altogether averse, even at the expense sometimes of his heart and breeding, is the Church of England. This extends to almost everything belonging to it, — its liturgy, customs, holy days, symbols, and ministers ; though, as he aged, and the church came in under a semi-court patronage, he found it both safe and in the way of good breeding to keep terms with its clergy, with a grave reserve which had behind it a very limited good will.

As a member of the Old South Church, he had a taste of his old enemy when Sir Edmund Andros insisted on occupying it, in the absence of his own, for the worship of the Church of England.

The question, "What right had the Church of England to establish itself in Boston?" creates for fair-minded men examining it a very difficult dilemma in ethics. To say that a national church should not go where the nation went; that where his soldiers might come in defence, the king's church should not come in worship; or that the king's worship should be forbidden to any of his loyal subjects in any of his domains; or that a church vindicated by the favorable verdict of a nation after a long war and much bloodshed, and set up again as an indisputable fact in that people's life, should be repudiated and forbidden by a province of that nation, peopled by those very Puritans who had gone to the wall in the late struggle, would seem to be plain, flat treason to the realm and king. The Puritans, of course, never undertook all this in plain act, but they and Sewall wrought for it all they could, and perhaps it is not too much to say, all they dared. On the Puritan side, it might be said that their charter gave them very generous powers to regulate their own affairs; that they had borne at their own charges the burden and heat of the day in subduing the wild, and giving a new and valuable colony to the Crown; that they had come three thousand miles across seas to be rid of this very church and enjoy their own; that the two had been and were antag-

onists; and that it was aside from reason, just and common humanity to now propose or impose religion here which they and their fathers had refused everywhere; that, in short, it was cruelty and slavery both to admit, much less nurture, among Puritan exiles in Massachusetts Colony, the church of Archbishop Laud and of Charles I. Nor could the Church of England fairly claim entrance here because it was the better way. That all might be so. But so long as the Puritans thought theirs to be the better way, it is hard to see why the Church of England here was not an intrusion as against the prince of virtues, Christian charity,—an intrusion both ungracious and lacking mercy. The church came, of course, and went on its comfortable mission till now. Happily this book is not called on to decide the ethics of its coming.

The General Court in 1659 passed an Act:—

“For preventing disorders arising in several places within this jurisdiction, by reason of some still observing such festivals as were superstitiously kept in other Countries to the great dishonor of God and offence of others; It is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas and the like, either by forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way upon any such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending shall pay for every such offence, five shillings as a fine to the Country.”

The inclusion here of both the active and passive observance of Christmas is truly remarkable. I was lucky that the fine was not fixed at £100, and it probably would have been if it had been thought

that so extreme a penalty would have killed Christmas. This law in the Record Book is sandwiched in between laws against gaming and dancing, and is followed by this preamble of a law against cards and dice: "And whereas not only at such times [Christmas, etc.] it is a custom too frequent in many places, to expend time in unlawful games as cards, dice, &c." There is a wise economy here in refraining from the mention of the fact that Christmas was kept according to English law from time immemorial, and that by their own charter the dates of holding their own law courts were fixed by church days. Nor is it quite possible to imagine a more unmitigated offence against a pious Churchman than thus to involve in a public law one of his most cherished festivals with the vulgar sports of dice and cards. It is surprising, considering the nature of the earlier Puritan legislation, that the Massachusetts Colony kept its charter as long as it did. Had it not been for the home troubles in England, it is safe to say that the charter would have been voided long before.

Sewall kept a keen Puritan eye on Christmas, as indeed he did on all other festivals of the old religion. As his Diary shows, he remarks with pleasure when Christmas is treated like any other day; and his alarm is acute when any new church custom begins to make headway. This is Sewall's general way of noticing its recurrence:—

"Decr 25, 1685. Friday. Carts come to town and shops open as is usual. Some somehow observe the day; but are

Probably the poor dog was a sufferer, as Sewall's sympathetic nature notes; and Sewall's sympathy for that particular dog was perhaps sincere. But was the other dog killed at Andover for the mere reason of being bewitched. But among the people called Christians, both then and now, it is merely impossible to find words to express what lies open in Sewall's entry here. It does not merely shock and repels far; for, whatever be allowed to these Puritans, it comes from a man who in most other respects seems so amiable.

"To JERE DUMMER, 1710.

"Barter away none, nothing of our religious privileges that you might have millions in lieu of them. Be watchful and diligent for their preservation."

About Deacon Brown and the Church-of-England people at Newburyport, who petitioned to be created into a parish, Sewall writes to Colonel Thomas Norcott, March 3, 1712:—

"Notwithstanding their aprons of fig leaves they walk naked and their neighbors see their shame; yet I apprehend it will be most advisable for those of the West Precinct not to meddle with them or forcibly take anything of them towards defraying any of the charges of the Precinct. This seems to me best for the Precinct, and best for Newbury and for the Province. And most for the interest of religion. And we should stick at nothing for Christ."

March 12, same year, he writes to Mr. John Wither of the same town concerning Brown:—

"I desire you to go to him in your own name and minister, but especially in the name of God. Give him Mr. Higginson's

sermon; tell him I have sent it to him as a token of my love. Demand of him whether that which Mr. Higginson and the New England worthies accounted the Cause of God, he does advisedly account it the Cause of the Evil one and to desert it accordingly? Ask him whether he be persuaded that Mr. Bridger doth more earnestly desire and seek his good than you do who have lived by him and loved him above these fifty years? Enquire of your friend Joshua Brown whether what he is now about, be a justifiable Keeping of the Fifth Commandment; and whether he be now denying himself and taking up his Cross and following Jesus Christ? Ask him whether it be best to have the Apocrypha and the Canonical Scriptures yoked up together? Whether it be best to have the Sign of the Cross in baptism? Whether it be best to have a great number of days in the year, placed as high as the Lord's day, if not above it? I shall not enlarge, hoping that by the good spirit of God you will be assisted to speak beyond what I can write."

In August, 1708, Sewall addressed a letter to Mr. Henry Flint, tutor in Harvard College, which shows the anxious eye about any sort of approach to the Church of England, and is therefore here quoted:—

"I thank you for your good sermon yesterday. The subject is excellent and always seasonable. Upon this occasion you will allow me the freedom of speaking what I have lately been often thinking. According to the simplicity of the Gospel the saying *Saint Luke* and *Saint John* has been disused in New England. And to take it up again is distasteful to me because it is a change for the worse: I have heard it from several; but to hear it from the senior fellow of Harvard College is more surprising; lest by his example he should seem to countenance and authorize inconvenient innovations. Thus I reckon; but if reckoning without my host I reckon wrong; your adjusting the account will gratify,

"Sir, your humble Servant;

"SAMUEL SEWALL."

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

*Marshal Hartenberg declared minister.—Cabals to delay the king's d
for England.*

MY DEAR LORD,

Hanover, November 27,

I Received the honor of your grace's letter of the 5th instant, O.
Gohrde, which place we left on Wednesday. The mareschal is at
clared minister, upon the king's return to this place; and we shall see
whether his being securely possessed of the dignity he has so long been
at, will make him return to a more uniform behavior towards his old
and renounce his new alliances as no longer necessary. I have some
to believe, that he looks on lady Walsingham as his determined enemy
that this joined to his natural falsehood, has driven him to tamper
opposite faction: but be the cause what it will, the effect is so certain
your grace may depend upon it, this new accession of power will not
restore him to the dutchess's confidence; tho' I have most earnestly
her grace, and she has been pleased to promise me, to keep fair with him.
I think it necessary we should all endeavor to do, that if he should
enough to throw himself in other hands, we may not reproach ourselves
having driven him to it, but may hold the door open for him to return
only true interest.

I have taken care, in a private manner, to prepare the king against
prize in relation to the primacy of Ireland; and I believe your grace
sure the bishop of London, that whenever the vacancy happens, it
filled up as he proposes.

Great cabals are carrying on here, in order to detain the king longer
place than we wish for. The next full moon happens on the eleventh
cember, new style, and our endeavor must be to prevail with him to
of it, since otherwise he will probably stay till the 10th of January.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Rejoices at the happy situation of affairs at Hanover.—His brother does not believe the duke of Orleans is inclined to obtain a dukedom of Vrilliere.—Schaub's indiscretion.—Recommends at the suggestion of Gibson, Dr. Sydal for the deanery of Rochester, in opposition to Hoadley, who recommends Dr. Burseaugh.

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, Nov.

I Am infinitely pleased at the happy situation you find your affairs in, and am very glad you have so much satisfaction in your business. I am glad you are in some degree, for your long absence from home, and the troubles and perplexities that you must have been engaged in. Although the late expedition may have flung my affairs into a little arrear, I do not think the benefit I have found, makes me ample amends, and I hope I shall be able to make a winter's campaign, which I had more than a little apprehensive about, when I left this place.

I am very glad Horace's dispatches have given you such satisfaction. I hope the letter I here send you from him to the duke of Newcastle will have the same good success. I cannot account for Horace's long delay in the affair of Mons. Vrilliere, and think he must surely be misapprehensions, by what your lordship writes to me in your private letter of the 4-15th instant. For your lordship is pleas'd to say, the duke has consented to make him a duke; but Horace not only in this letter I received yesterday of the 13 24th, has this expression, *inclined to believe his majesty is deceived, as to the duke of Orleans's intention to grant a dukedom to Vrilliere's son, and fear there will be great opposition.* By this, Horace so very lately, was not at all sensible that the duke had adjusted, which your lordship must have had an account of. If it has been settled by sir Luke Schaub, and he has conceal'd the matter, there is no great matter in it, but his impertinence, if there

Period III. I send your lordship four more intercepted letters from
 1720 to 1727. altho' this correspondence has hitherto contain'd nothing
 1723. cannot but think may be of great consequence, if the secret
 thing of moment will ever be resolv'd upon, without the k
 Atterbury. person;* and by this means, I think the government may
 have early intimations; which may be of great use. We ar
 agreement upon the consideration for this service; but I ap
 mand will not be low, and I have hints given me, as if this m
 be further extended upon due encouragement. The bills yo
 when they come shall be duely accepted and paid. The d
 is at Claremont, and desires me to give you his thanks for
 and begs you will not forgett Jervas the painter. He has
 to be dispatch'd.

I wrote to you by the last post, and propos'd from the biss
 keep the deanery of Rochester vacant, but what has since hap
 his opinion. I shall now in my public letter, recommend Dr.
 to be made dean of Rochester, at the instance of the bishops of
 and Rochester; and shall take notice, that the bishop of W
 mends Dr. Burseaugh. I send you the Bishop of London's ow
 firing this vacancy to be immediately fill'd up, is occasioned
 sion the bishop of London has, that the bishop of Winchester
 to your brother Carterett, to recommend Burseaugh, witho
 of his brethren, or ever mentioning him to any of them u
 He came to the office on Saturday morning, and desir'd me
 of Dr. Burseaugh. I asked him, whether he had talk'd with t
 don and the other bishops, which he said, he had not, an
 think it at all necessary; and I understand has not vouchsaf
 separate acting, the bishop of London thinks sufficiently
 having gott the concurrence of the bishop of the *diocese* and
 he is strong enough, and I hope so too. I hope the first

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

push'd hard for it. I congratulate you in your election to the
and must at the same time, beg you will lett a son of Charles K
first nomination. I have had this upon my hands a long time,
has now wrote to me in very pressing terms, to secure this fa
lordship. The filling up the vacancy of the third regiment of
transaction during my absence. As a piece of secrett history
you, I am certainly inform'd, the prince sent for Cadogan, a
John Montgomery, whereupon he alter'd a whole scheme of pr
he had before settled, but I am glad it was done for Montgom
apprehends, that the king of Portugal's refusing to accede to
alliance, may give Schaub an occasion to triumph over him; an
write to the secretary his patron, that there is now no further
Horace's continuing at Paris. This he already gives out at Pa
that Horace went thither by chance; but as we know the contr
will find the contrary, till you can determine who to send thithe
glad you have a prospect of compassing.

Bishop of London's paper relating to the deanery of Rochester

Rochester. The bishop is never there, and so the dean
government of the place, and the chief conducting of all affairs
ter is one half tory. The city returns two members. The dea
have a considerable patronage in Kent. For these reasons, the
a person of some figure and authority, and one who has a head
and for the managing of a body. It is also to be wish'd, tha
person of some fortune, and able to live hospitably for the co
the bishop having no house there.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

States the reason for his return to England.—And the conse

Period III. that way, than by word of mouth. I beg leave to assure you
 1720 to 1727. have no other view in doing it, than to sett this matter in the
 1723. your majesty's determination, submitting it entirely to your
 in duty bound to help forward and facilitate whatever resolution
 in your great wisdom shall think proper to take upon this and
 occasions.

The parliament stands prorogued at present to the 19th of November,
 which is the 30th N. S. and your majesty has already given
 to have it prorogued to the 17th, O. S. which is the 28th N. S.
 The next full moon is on the last day of November, O. S.
 11 December, N. S. and as the moon rises but three quarters
 later one night than another, this moon will give light for several
 after, sufficient to prevent any danger of running on the coast.
 Should your majesty therefore sett out from Hanover about the
 15th of December, N. S. you may propose to embark about the
 18th, which is the 6 or 7th, O. S. and, having the benefit of a
 hope to land in England a week or ten days before the time the
 parliament will then stand prorogued. By which means, before
 expires, a proclamation may be publish'd for proroguing it
 the 10th of January, O. S. which is the 21st, N. S. giving no
 meet to do business at that time, which will be at a proper
 distance after the Christmas holidays, and your servants will
 enough to concert the measures necessary for the conducting it.
 The time of the parliament's meeting thus early, being once settled,
 will give almost the same satisfaction and spirit to the nation, as
 tually assembled; and Mr. Walpole, having already assured you
 he can find means for continuing the payments of the army
 after the holidays, no inconvenience to the public service
 ensue.

But should your majesty lett slip this moon, and wait for

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

but your majesty must inevitably prorogue it at least for a while which will delay the opening of the parliament to the latter end of the beginning of February. But yet the parliament, requiring the king to be at least, cannot be brought together till some time in February, being certain, whether the payments abovementioned, can be made so long, there will be evident danger of involving the publick in difficulties, as may very much affect publick credit, and occasion uneasiness throughout the nation.

But should it farther happen, that the frosts should sett in as in Holland, which may naturally be apprehended, no one can tell how long your majesty's passage may be delay'd, nor what the consequence of such a delay may be. The publick supplies (which are grown to Christmas to Christmas) being exhausted, every branch of the revenue must be at a stand: the parliament must meet late, and probably the session must unavoidably be protracted to the middle of the next months.

After having thus stated to your majesty, with the greatest freedom and submission, the inconveniencies which it appears to me, may be possible accidents and delays, I once more beg leave to assure your majesty, that tho' I have taken the liberty to give my opinion, and the resolution your majesty shall take, I shall most chearfully, and with readiness and submission, do all in my power towards rendering the execution easy; having no other view or desire than that of conducting your majesty's affairs on all occasions, in such manner as may be most to the service and satisfaction.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE

Encloses the preceding letter to the king, which induced the king to return for his immediate return.—Dissatisfaction of the G

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

England might be, I ventured no further, than to give him in a paper, the times on which the moon-light nights fell. But upon his coming to this place, I found the universal bent of the Germans strong for keeping here, 'till the full moon of the 10th January, N. S. and fearing lest accident of contrary winds or frosts might detain him so long in Holland, the parliament (allowing the necessary time for summoning it, and for conducting the operations of the session) might not be able to meet before February. I thought it my duty to lay before his majesty, the possible inconvenience might arise from his delaying his journey so long, which I chose to recite in writing, in the form you will see in the enclosed. This letter, far from any uneasiness, as I apprehended, had so good an effect, that the king, saying any thing to me, sent for the marechal the next day, and ordered to make the necessary dispositions for his beginning the journey on the instant, N. S.

I am sensible you will think the 10th of January, O. S. somewhat earliest for bringing the parliament together after the holydays; but it is his majesty's present intention, they should meet to do business on the 9th. I beg you would suspend your judgment on this resolution, till I have opportunity to acquaint you with the reasons, which made so early a day so advisable. I hope this good may at least be expected from it, that the news of the parliament's meeting being known before Christmas, will give more spirit to the city, and animate publick credit. You will easily imagine, that the king's taking this resolution, has been highly disagreeable to the Germans. The more so, from their having no notice or participation in it. But I saw any one more overjoyed than the dutchess upon this occasion; and if I had had any other view besides the king's service, I could not have managed the court more effectually with her, than by this step. The only objection or clamour which the most discontented on this side pretend to raise is, that it hazard his majesty's person too much, by proposing to undertake the journey so long after the full moon, when the former part of the night is entire

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

If he should pass through the city or the park, any thing of that kind will be more excusable, tho' it is what he desires entirely to avoid. I will refuse signing a joint letter to you with lord Carteret for 1000*l.* more apiece, for the charges of our journey and for what we have really expended. Hoping to meet so soon, I have no other news, only I will venture to assure the duke of Newcastle that we have all reason to be satisfied with our Hanover expedition.

1724.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF GRAMMAR

Acquaints him with the king's resolution to remove lord Carteret from the office of secretary of state, to appoint him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to confer on his grace the post of lord chamberlain.

Whitehall

YOUR grace is so perfectly acquainted with the factions and divisions that have been for some time past among his majesty's servants, that I have often lamented the mischiefs arising from such divisions, that I was surpriz'd to hear that the king is at last come to a resolution to do every thing in his power to put an end to them. The first instance given, is by removing Mr. Treby from the war office, which he has disposed of to Mr. Henry Pelham; and I believe the seals will be given to my lord Carteret in a day or two, and given to the duke of Newcastle in that case, the king intends the lord chamberlain's place for you, and Ireland for lord Carteret. As the post his majesty designs for you is of great dignity, so you may depend, that your friends and humble servants will endeavour, to render it as advantageous and easy in all respects

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

II. the impossibility there was of doing it without giving some considerable²⁷ valent, that you are sensible his having the government of Ireland, in that manner unavoidable. The care his majesty has taken in placing you so near his person, will sufficiently convince the world, that his taking the government of Ireland from you at this time, does not proceed from any disapprobation of your conduct.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Informs the duke of the dismissal of lord Carteret, and apologises for not having previously consulted him.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 2,

YOUR grace will find, by a letter which you will receive from the Duke of Newcastle this post, that his majesty is come to a resolution for to remove sooner than I expected, in relation to the alterations I mentioned to you yesterday. As I have ever looked on my interest, and that of my friends as inseparable from your grace's, I flatter myself you will not be so ill, that your grace was not previously consulted upon the alteration. I am in some circumstances, that I shall hereafter have the honour to explain to you, made impracticable; and as I can with the utmost truth assure you, that it was not the least intention in taking this step, to lessen your grace in the eyes of the world, so I hope the distinction his majesty has publicly declared in favour of your grace, on this occasion, will be an inducement to you to approve of the measures which have been judged absolutely necessary by those who have, and ever had your grace's honour and interest so far at heart, as to consider upon it as inseparable from their own.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Without a date, but evidently written in 1724, not long before the

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

SIRE,

BEING induced to think, from some words which fell from your majesty when I had the honour to lay before you a draught of the bill, that your majesty may have it in your thoughts to spend the summer in the country, I most humbly beg leave, in discharge of the duty I owe to you, to lay before you, with the greatest deference and submission, some of my partial observations on the present state of your majesty's affairs, and on which, if it should be my misfortune to suggest any thing in the least contrary to your majesty's inclinations, I hope from the experience I have of your indulgence towards me, that you will not impute it to the least concern for every thing that may promote your majesty's satisfaction. No one living can wish more passionately than I do) but will be allowed to proceed from a sincere zeal for your service, and the future ease and happiness of your government; and I beg leave to assure your majesty, that the bill I have humbly laid before you my thoughts upon this subject, I shall endeavour to facilitate whatever resolutions your majesty shall find it proper to take.

The great spirit and majority with which the bills for punishing conspirators,* were carried through both houses in the first session of the present parliament, the quietness and unanimity with which the publick business has been dispatched in this,† the several good laws that have been passed for the increase and advantage of commerce, and in favour of the publick revenue, the universal and uninterrupted state of tranquillity abroad, and flourishing of trade and publick credit at home, have all concurr'd to reflect the greatest glory on your majesty, and the general calm and security throughout the nation, than has been known in any time since your majesty's happy accession to the throne. A very great benefit has been wrought in favour of your majesty, in the city of London, the influence and example is of so great consequence to the whole kingdom, that it has appeared in two successive elections, in opposition to the utmost efforts and most indirect practices of the united party of jacobites. They have behaved themselves at least inoffensively; and some of them

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I. nation improved and strengthen'd by proper methods and measures which
 27. be still taken, they will grow so settled and confirmed, as to make your
 majesty's reign for the future no less easy than glorious and successful.

But however promising these appearances are, yet your majesty is sensible, that the jacobite party is still very strong, and their views are depended in expectation of a favourable opportunity. Of this, your majesty has the strongest proofs, and surest intelligence. Those of the foreign ministers, who are best acquainted with this country, and who, upon account of their religion, may be supposed to be so far admitted into the general councils and consultations of the disaffected, as to be no incompetent judges of the heart and spirit that party is in, do, in their most secret and undisguised communications to their respective courts, where they may be supposed to open their minds with the greatest freedom and sincerity, constantly represent the tranquillity of this nation, as owing more to the despair of giving your majesty any disturbance from abroad, than to any real change or submission in the minds of the pretender's adherents; insinuating, that if the engagements which at present withhold France and Spain from espousing his cause were once dissolved, and a bare connivance in his favour from either of those quarters, the spirit of disaffection would soon rally, and the sparks of sedition, which now lye smother'd, would break out into as fierce a flame as ever. However vain their reasonings may be, as to the success that will attend any such practices: yet this much is undeniable, that these notions have the weight and influence your majesty ought to have abroad, as to the state of Europe in general. And it is equally certain, that nothing will so effectually give credit to these opinions and insinuations, as the seeing any hand given to the enemies of your majesty's government, for propagating discord at home, and for alienating the affections of your majesty's subjects.

Among all the topicks for sowing sedition, there is none which the jacobites have managed with greater industry and success, than your majesty's frequent visits frequently to visit your German dominions. But whatever arti-

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

majesty, therefore, after so long a stay as your affairs required at Hanover last year, think it proper and adviseable immediately after the close of this short session, again to visit your foreign dominions, you will give an opportunity to the disaffected to insinuate, that the success of the measures which call your majesty abroad this summer, being likely always to produce the same effect, and Britain thereby be reduced to the same state with Ireland (where the lord lieutenant never appears, but the parliament is called to give money) and never enjoy the blessing of your majesty's presence any longer than while this service lasts.

Having laid before your majesty, the inconveniences and dangers which in your opinion will arise from your going abroad this year; I most humbly beg leave to mention some of the many advantages that will in all probability be the consequences of your majesty's continuance here this summer. In the well affected party in general, being supported by your majesty's presence and encouraged by being under your immediate influence, they will make the best advantage of the present good temper the nation is in; your majesty's friends in the city, will not only carry every thing forward with speed, but by the help and assistance of your servants, will be enabled to bring before the parliament, such bills as may for the future secure the possession of that important place, entirely in the hands of those who are the best for your majesty's interest.

The next points of consequence to the peace, ease, and happiness of your majesty's government, are the clergy and the two universities. As no use is made of their present disposition, I am persuaded, it will be necessary to find out some farther encouragements, that will make the two great bodies firm friends to your majesty; and as your majesty has always had the gaining them over to your majesty very much in view, I have lately had frequent conversations on this head with the bishop of Exeter who is, with me, fully persuaded it would be very practicable to give them a better sense of their duty; and we have already made a rough

Period III. I must before I conclude, beg leave to make one further ob-
 1720 to 1727. majesty, that should you be pleased to defer going abroad the
 1724. majesty may, by calling the parliament in October next,
 finished in February, and without the least inconvenience to
 out from hence in the beginning of March next, and stay at
 think fit, till January following. So that take two years toge-
 once pass almost as many months there as you could do, if you
 mer and the next; with this only difference, that the one may
 bring inextricable difficulties upon your affairs here, and the other
 rise even to the least murmur.

I presume to send your majesty my thoughts upon this matter, that what I have to lay before your majesty may be done with confidence and privacy. I once more beg your majesty will believe me here said upon a subject, which I fear will be disagreeable to a heart full of duty and veneration for your sacred person, and motives, but those of honour and conscience; and that after my thoughts with the greatest deference before your majesty, I obey, but cheerfully execute whatever your majesty shall think fit to mine; being with the warmest zeal and most unalterable affection your majesty's most dutifull subject, and most devoted servant.

This firm but respectful representation had its due effect; he was removed from England, and his presence was highly instrumental to the domestic tranquillity.

LETTERS BETWEEN COUNT BROGLIO AND OF FRANCE.

These letters contain much curious intelligence, concerning the state of the ministry, though, in some respects, they cannot be im-

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

and these ministers are in strict union together, and are as far well inclined. They visit me very frequently, both together and I behave to them in the same manner. Chavigny strove that I might place an entire confidence in them. Their future conduct will enable me to judge better of their sentiments. The king has made Chavigny a present of 1000*l.* which is double to what is given to envoys. Both the king and the ministers appear to be very well with him.

Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole have been lately indisposed, but are now quite recovered. It is much to be wished, that the king were in power, for they appear anxious to maintain the good understanding subsists between the two crowns; they possess an unbounded influence over the king and the duchess of Kendal, they enjoy the whole of the government, and the entire confidence of the king.

The prince of Wales endeavours to obtain information of what is said of persons who are attached to him; but he learns nothing either from the duchess, or the ministers. The king goes every afternoon to the duchess, the ministers occasionally attend; and it is there that the measures which require secrecy are treated. M. Dillon has introduced new relations and friends, who, as he informs me, can supply me with intelligence.

(July 10.) THE more I consider state affairs, the more I am convinced that the government is entirely in the hands of Mr. Walpole, Lord Newcastle, and the duke of Newcastle, who are on the best terms with the king and the duchess of Kendal. The king visits her every afternoon from five to six, and there, that she endeavours to penetrate the sentiments of his Majesty, for the purpose of consulting the three ministers, and proposing measures which may be thought necessary for accomplishing the king's commands. I sent me word, that she was desirous of my friendship, and that

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1. close union between the ministers of France, Spain, and England.
27. received for answer, that the imperial court was persuaded of the good
several persons who composed the cabinet of Spain, but that if they w
to be implicitly depended on, the government was so * * * an
powers so weak, that there was nothing to fear. It must be of advan
your majesty's service, that a quarrel has broken out between this emb
and the king, and ministry of Great Britain. I shall not exert myself to
the difference.

(20th July.) LORD Townshend did not solicit the honour of a garter
himself, he had even requested it for another person; but the king, spontan
insisted on his accepting it, notwithstanding his remonstrating with gr
desty, that there were many persons more deserving of it than himself.
however, generally believed, that the duchess of Kendal, at the instig
lord Townshend, suggested to the king, that it would be proper to inve
with the garter; and there is a great appearance of probability in the
ture. It is much to be wished, for the maintenance of the union bet
your majesty and the king of England, that no misfortune may happen
Walpole, he being absolutely the helm of government: the king can
without him, on account of his great influence in the house of commons
he depends entirely upon him, in every respect. He is a man of grea
ties, and very enterprizing. The house place a most unreserved conf
in him, and he has the address to persuade them, that the national ho
dearer to him, than all the wealth in the world. He is very ably secon
Townshend, who is a man of great capacity, and with whom he is in
harmony. The duke of Newcastle, who is indebted to him for his fi
submits to his judgment in every thing, so that the king experiences n
tradition to his wishes, but leaving the internal government entirely to
pole, is more engaged with the German ministers in regulating the a
Hanover, than occupied with those of England. It is to be observe

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

rum. The king regularly receives a thousand pounds every keeps himself; the remainder of the revenue of the civil list, hundred thousand pounds sterling, per annum, is remitted to the treasurer. It is said, that the prince of Wales is a very good only of the one hundred thousand pounds a year allowed him but of the revenues of the principality of Wales, which is 20,000*l.* more.

The king has no predilection for the English nation, and does not private any English of either sex; none even of his principal officers admitted to his chamber in a morning to dress him, nor in the evening to undress him. These offices are performed by the Turks, who are his domestics, and who give him every thing he wants in private. The king considers England as a temporary possession,* to be made the most profitable use of, rather than as a perpetual inheritance to himself and family. He has no disputes with the parliament, but commits the entire management of the business to Walpole, choosing rather that the responsibility should rest on the minister's head than his own, and being well apprized that as Britain is obliged, when the parliament requires it, to give a good conduct, as well with respect to the liberty of the subject, as to the making and formation of laws. I have even been assured, that the king has committed himself to this effect.

I am persuaded, on the other hand, that Mr. Walpole, who is very rich, would wish to retire from business, and enjoy his wealth in private. As he has excited a great share of enmity and envy, it would be dangerous for him to retire; he is under the necessity of retaining his situation, and to himself and family the wealth and honours of which they are so fond. I am even inclined to think, that he entertains hopes of a pardon from the king, if he should happen to fall into disgrace; I will use all the dexterity I possess, to induce him to think so, that I may excite the favourable sentiments he now entertains towards your majesty.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

his party several times, from interested motives, a circumstance which brought him into disgrace with all parties. There is a strict friendship between him and my lord Cadogan; and I think it very fortunate for your majesty's interest, that Carteret is out of power; having been assured by people who pretend to great information on the subject, that he was very devoted to the interest of the emperor.

The ministry hold Cadogan very cheap, and as he receives 20,000*l.* a year from the treasury, he is Walpole's humble servant, a circumstance all to his honour, as he is treated with much indignity, and there is no reason for him to expect a change of situation, or that he will obtain the patent which he is so desirous. He has no influence at court, or in parliament, nor is he beloved by the people at large. He keeps up his respect only by the fortune he has amassed in the wars, and the revenues of his office. He is a man of courage, and behaved well in his situation of quarter-master-general, and on other occasions. The immense wealth he has acquired, and his having, by means of the powerful influence of the duke of Marlborough, passed over the heads of many of his seniors in the army, have drawn him a great many enemies. Every body speaks of him to me in those terms. I am inclined to think, that the ministry would dismiss him, and give his place to some one else, but the duke of Argyle is next in rotation to take the command of the troops; and as he is a man of exalted rank, who has done a great deal of service, is well versed in intrigue, and would not submit to any authority, as they would wish, they retain Cadogan, but humble him as much as possible, on every occasion.

THE KING OF FRANCE TO COUNT BROGLIO.

(July 18, 1724.) THERE is no room to doubt, that the duchess of Orléans, having a great ascendancy over the king of Great Britain, and maintaining a strict union with his ministers, must materially influence their proceedings and resolutions. You will neglect nothing to acquire a share of her confidence.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

your confidence, will give rise to a firm belief of your friendship mutually sincere. I cannot be too particular in you to be very attentive in watching the conduct of Dillon not only that you ought to be very cautious of giving credence you may receive through that channel, but you ought to be convinced, that nothing will render you more an object of suspicion where you are, than that officer's maintaining a too frequent correspondence with his relations and friends; for it would beget a suspicion, that he at least connive at such an intimacy. For these reasons, as to receive a too frequent correspondence between that officer and whomsoever, which might be in the smallest degree suspicious to the government, send him back to France, and enter into no communication with him on the subject.

You are informed, by one of the memorials subjoined to you, as well as by the copies, you have received from Chauvigny, that he has written to him, of the present state of the negotiation set on foot between the king of Great Britain and the czar. You know the obstacles to the encounter; that they arise principally from the reserve these two powers maintain towards each other: it is very difficult to bring any affair to a conclusion when extraneous difficulties are added to those which are natural to the case in the present instance. We are informed, that the czar, at the court of the czar, convinced that the reconciliation was essential to the interests of his master, endeavours to prevent it, and exerts himself to augment the disinclination the ministers of Great Britain manifested to this reconciliation. You may communicate this to the British ministry, giving them to understand, that it ought to be an additional motive for their sovereign to dismiss his reserve towards France, to terminate an affair, the conclusion of which, ought to appear agreeable to him, from the solicitude of other powers to prevent it.

Prince Eugene, after having testified some discontent, that

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1. execution of them, that the arguments of prince Eugene can never be a
27. by the mediating powers, nor maintained by the Imperial ministers
conversation then turned on titles, and on the golden fleece. On
subject, it may be supposed, by what has been said, that the emperor
not make many difficulties in giving up titles to which he had no longer
pretension, and that the sentiments of Spain were perfectly reciprocal.
Eugene was not so explicit on the subject of the golden fleece; but
circumstances lead to a belief, that the court of Vienna is desirous to
the functions of grand master of that order. However difficult it may
form any decisive opinions from this conversation between prince Eugene
M. Dubourg, it may be fairly inferred from that, and several others
which have been communicated at different periods, that the court of
is really desirous to terminate the congress of Cambray; the duration of
keeps them in a state of suspense. Nothing can be more fortunate than
disposition, and advantage may be taken of it, in the course of the nego-
tiation, to procure greater benefits to the court of Spain; I am sure, the
ministers of the court where you are, will be of the same opinion, which
communicate to them, which you will easily find an opportunity of doing.
information I have given you, of the advices received a few days ago
Vienna.

COUNT BROGLIO TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

(July 24, 1724.) ONE of the two knights recently created, is
Scarborough, master of the horse to the prince of Wales, and very much
attached to him. He has found means to manage so well, that he has
persuaded the king to give him the ribband, in preference to many
who had a better right to expect that honour. It is the policy of the
ministers to procure places for those who are attached to, and in favour of
prince of Wales; fearing that a time may come when they will stand
of their services. It is certain that the king has not done it out of

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

wishes, his relations being almost all in the country, according to this time of the year, so that he has only been able to see a very few. I will find means to give him a hint, as from myself, that he should be more guarded both in conversation and behaviour with the officers in the French service, whom your majesty has permitted to stay in this country.

PAPERS AND LETTERS PRINCIPALLY RELATIVE TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Intelligence respecting lord Bolingbroke.

(De Paris le 10 May, 1715.) MILORD Bullingbrook par son crédit sur le chevalier Richard Cantillon, Irlandois, banquier de la ville et chevalier de la façon du pretendant. Il reconnoit à son avantage, que luy a joué le comte d'Oxford, en se cachant d'ailleurs de faire répandre le bruit, qu'il s'estoit sauvé, à dessein de faire croire à Bullingbrook, et luy faire prendre le parti qu'il a pris. Il est certain que le pretendant a rendu un grand service au roy George, en son manifeste de l'intelligence qui estoit entre luy et la feinte. Que par la mesme raison il avoit aussy ruiné tous ceux qui avoient eu des pays eté dans ses interets, assurant qu'il n'y en avoit plus un seul qui ne le vouloit entendre parler de luy. Il a adjouté dit-on, sans doute si ce n'est pas une charité qu'on luy prête, que cette seule découverte du pretendant suffisoit de convaincre tout le monde qu'il estoit le véritable Pere.

EARL OF STAIR TO HORACE WALPOLE

Ill founded reports circulated at Paris that lord Bolingbroke

Period III. 1720 to 1727. and traytor, and God knows what not. I believe all poor H that he could not play his part with a grave enough face: he laughing now and then at such kings and queens. He had a Paris; and got drunk now and then, and he spent the money in trefs, that he should have bought powder with, and neglected sending the powder and the arms, and never went near the qu word, told lord Stair all their designs, and was had out of England. I would not have you laugh, Mr. Walpole, for all this. For the rest they begin now to apprehend, that their king is under the westerly winds and B's treason have defeated the finest scheme was laid. The French are very angry with B. and speak very ill of every house in Paris; but for the rest of them, they say they are not, and that they never intended to help him at all. By this time I am fonder to think my epistle long enough, and not wrote with the expectation becomes a minister, but that is not altogether my fault; for I say nothing but sober and serious truths.

This is a private letter, not to be given up to the house of commons.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM

Represents the ill conduct, weakness, and desperate situation of the British affairs, as a warning, and dissuades his friend from engagements in that line.

Townshend
Papers.

(September 13, 1716.) HOWEVER this letter comes to you are not to be surpris'd, since it will not be sent, unless the measures are taken as may render the conveyance of it secure. A countryman of your's and mine, who arriv'd some time agoe in this country, has the news of seeing you here. In the first heate, I flattered myself with your expectation: but when I reflected upon your past and present situation, I began to despair; and yet dear Willey, it would be of the use

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

I bear you, and which I shall carry to the grave along with me; monition from me; and the rather, because the knowledge I have of what is doing; and the guesses I make at the particulars, which I certainly know, incline me to think, that I should not neglect so material an affair.

If other persons speak another language, they have one motive; either the heat of their temper or their ignorance of the world, to deceive themselves first, and their friends afterwards; or else they are left to loose, and by consequence nothing to hazard, they imagine themselves full and very politick, to expose as many as they can to the same danger they are already in. Let me therefore conjure you on no account to enter into any measure, till by some means or other, we have an opportunity to meet, which I hope will not prove impracticable. Keep yourself absolutely independant of all engagements, and remember that time will come, when you will own this advice to be the truest instance of friendship which I can ever give you. I am not yet able to prescribe you any way of writing to me; as soon as I am, you shall hear again from me. You have you no news from these parts, publick papers communicate no intelligence; I will however mention two observations which I think you will apply. The people who belong to St. Germain's are never more sanguine in appearance; and yet the king of Sweden and the regent will undoubtedly throw himself *à corps perdu* into England's interest.

Adieu, you shall soon receive either a more particular letter from the messenger of your acquaintance from me. I embrace you, my dear friend, and am for ever much more your's than my own. I answered your letter by the same person that brought me your's, took care of my affairs, and the write is only for you, and one or two of our bosome friends. I am not to be drawn from it, and the use to be made of it, ought to be left to your concern for persons reaches. I give you this caution

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

[Encloses the preceding letter.]

Information concerning the designs of the pretender, collected from lord Bolingbroke's private letter to sir William Wyndham, which was sent unsealed to the postmaster general.

SIR,

Hampton Court, September 15,

THREE posts being due from your side, I have none of your letter to my knowledge; but the occasion of my writing is to communicate to his royal highness's command, some papers and advices relating to the designs of the pretender, in order to your laying them before the king. One is a letter from the person employed by his majesty to get intelligence of the pretender, whose hand I make no doubt both the king and you will remember. It appears by what he writes, that the pretender is shortly to make some new design either on Scotland or England. But this advice is more fully confirmed by a letter from the late lord Bolingbroke to sir William Wyndham, which came to my hands yesterday morning, in a pretty extraordinary manner. He sent it unsealed to young Mr. Craggs at Paris, desiring him to send it open to his father, the postmaster general, to whom it should be left to send it forward, or to suppress it, as he should think fit. Old Mr. Craggs immediately brought it to me, to know what should be done with it; I desired he would give me a copy of it, to lay before his royal highness, who presently determined, that it ought by all means to be sent on as directed. Bolingbroke seems to have had two views in writing it; first to deter his friends from having any share in an attempt, of the success of which he had so ill success; and in the next place to give the government some sort of proof of their aversion to the measures now taking by the party. What is most remarkable in it (as you will see by the inclosed copy) is, that the pretender's design (whatever it be) appears to him to be in such forwardness, that knowing sir William Wyndham's zeal for that service, he thought not a moment was

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

elated with the expectation of some sudden attempt in their favour, they are confident of being supported by a body of foreign forces.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND

Expresses his gratitude for past favours—and makes strong protest against attachment, if his restitution is completed.

MY LORD,

YOU have laid the highest obligation upon me, in the hands of a generous manner, and I desire your lordship to be persuaded that I have laid any which made a deeper or more lasting impression. I shall be on this side of the water to lessen the force of any objections which the king has done, and intends to do in my favour; and if my restitution is completed, your lordship may have more useful friends and fewer than a faithful one you cannot have, than I shall endeavour to approve. Walpole tells me, that I may give your lordship the trouble of reading the two inclosed, which I beg of you to present to the king, and to Mr. Kendal. I am, my lord, with all possible esteem and gratitude,

LORD TOWNSHEND TO LORD BOLINGBROKE

Delivers his letters to the king and duchess of Kendal.—Declares his intentions in his favour, to complete his restitution, if it can be done by parliament.

MY LORD,

Pyrmont, June

BY last post, I desired my brother Walpole to let your lordship know that I had received the honour of your's of the 28th June, and that I had sent the two inclosed to the king and the duchess of Kendall. But your majesty avoids reading as much as he can, during the time of drinking, and none of the letters were then returned to me. I have since receiv-

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

II. that it does not entirely depend on the king; and that it must be managed with great circumspection. I am likewise desired by the dutchess of Kendall, to shew your lordship very many thanks for your letter to her, with assurances of her grace's particular regard for your lordship, and the success of your affairs. It was an extreme pleasure to me to see that your lordship was satisfied with my share I had in moving the king in your favour; I shall be always ready to contribute my utmost towards compleating what your lordship further desires, and I shall in all things that are in my power continue to shew your lordship with how much sincerity, and with how true an esteem, I am, &c.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Returns thanks, and renews his professions of attachment.—Flatters him with the expectation that the obstructions to his restitution will be removed.

MY LORD,

Aix la Chapelle, Sept. 17, 1712.

I Chose rather to let your lordship know, by Mr. Walpole, how sensible I was affected by the letter you did me the honour to write me, while I was in London, than to give you immediately the trouble of another; but since my brother is going to Hanover, let the opportunity be my excuse, if I do not send you my thanks under my own hand, and write to you again, tho' I have nothing now to say. Mr. Walpole will have told your lordship, what his opinion concerning my situation was. I have conducted myself agreeably to it, and shall continue to do so.

There may be some, I think there will not be many, who will be any way withstanding all the precautions which can be taken; but surely the king must have a very ill grace, when all other pretences being taken away, he can have no reason to assign against an act of mercy, which his majesty is fit to do, and the minister to advise, but their own private humour. I shall stay about a months stay at this place, I shall go back to Paris, and continue to remove from thence, according to what lord Harcourt writes to me.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

your lordship will look upon him as a servant on whom you depend. I have writ by him to my lady duchess of Kendall, who have upon all occasions received the greatest civilities possible. Carteret having done me the honour of a letter some time ago, I am proper likewise to write to his lordship by him. Give me leave to say on you, my lord, for making my most humble duty acceptable. Whatever obstructions the spirit of party may still raise at home, his majesty shall have no where a subject more faithful to him than myself, nor your lordship a more obedient and devoted servant, &c.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HARRIS.

Character and disposition of the duke of Bourbon favourable to the court.—Offers his own assistance to preserve that good disposition, and solicitude to assist the ministry.

MY LORD,

Paris, Decr.

I Received on Sunday the 12th instant, the honour of your letter of the 27th of November, which our friend Brinsden brought me. What came recommended by your lordship and Mr. Walpole, has been executed, as far as is either necessary or proper at this time. I depend upon it, that the duke of Bourbon is disposed just as you wish he should be. He has taken all the methods which the conjuncture of expressing these dispositions; and, as he says himself, that confidence, which words cannot create, must be left to time, and supported up by a steady conduct. He has always past for a man of true opinion can be of any weight, you will always find him so. There are, however, many things to be taken into consideration with respect to which in my opinion, will require a more than ordinary attention will, if I am not deceived, be much more necessary for

Period III. But I must observe two things to your lordship, with my
 1720 to 1727. One is, that to cultivate and improve this good disposition in
 1724. promise you not to neglect, as far as my power goes, and as
 sent themselves, is not a very important service, unless at the
 able to awaken it, and to help to apply it in particular cases, as
 my lord, you are not to apprehend, that this disposition will
 bated by any one, but I would not answer that there may not
 endeavours to lull it asleep, or to divert it. Another thing,
 serve to your lordship, and which Mr. Walpole did yesterday
 observe to me, is this, that as long as I remain in the uncertainty
 I still am, it is impossible I should exert myself as I could wish
 service, without running too great a risque; I mean that
 asyle less agreeable, and less secure, when I cannot depend
 home. This is all which seems necessary to be said at present
 subject. Brinsford will return, to you very soon, and by him
 write again. Let me desire your lordship to assure Mr. Walpole
 humble services. I will trouble neither him nor you at his
 private affairs, but conclude with assuring you, that I am, most
 faithfully, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HARRIS

*Acknowledges his inclination to use his interest with the duke of
 promoting the harmony between France and England.—Views the
 faction on the crown of France.—Duke of Bourbon inclines to the
 attempts of the pretender.—States the delicacy of his own situation,
 presses a desire that he may be soon relieved from suspense.*

MY LORD,

Townshend Papers. I Have writ very largely to Mr. Walpole: that letter will now
 to your lordship, and I shall avoid repeating in this any thing

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

gives me, I have been honoured with these many years. on his present intentions, they are perfectly agreeable to his d still I should speak contrary to my own judgement; I go further should speak contrary to my own knowledge, if I told you t gree of attention to the affairs of this country, which was suffi duke of Orleans's time, was sufficient now. A long regency, his undertakings, many of which were hazardous, and such as would not have ventured upon; a confirm'd power in the gov confirm'd interest in the king, had made that prince superior and absolute master of the kingdom. I hope that the duke of so in time, but time is necessary to that purpose, and your cour to it, as you did, perhaps more than you imagined yourselves authority of his predecessor. In the mean while, I presume for his sake (and he is now the center of the publick interest great attention is necessary on your part as ministers, and all the friendship on the part of the king towards him. He is first there is another prince* of the blood nearer to the crown. It v that there was a better harmony between them; for their interest their interest is the common interest of Europe; but the duke the necessity of their union; and his endeavours, joyn'd to the e the other will daily acquire, may, it is to be hop'd, by degrees ci which, I much doubt, there are many who would be glad notion of a Spanish faction, which would be glad to set the esta succession aside, should the young king fail, and throw Europe more, is no imaginary, but a real and well grounded notion. of this faction will be conceal'd with care, and disguised un appearances; and as attention will be necessary to keep them others, so must attention be had to keep them from deceiving against whose interest they are immediately idrected. As it i we should be watchful for the duke of Bourbon, so it is rea

Period III. Bourbon is the only person capable of traversing the impressions
 1720 to 1727. ready to give, and the designs they may carry on.

1724.

Your lordship sees, that I obey your orders fully; they are my inclinations, and have therefore a double weight. But I am sensible that I shall be fearful to write by any other conveyance, as I am by this; and I must suggest to you another consideration. I have but few friends, because I have liv'd in a very retir'd manner, and little besides my garden and my studys, but for the same reason I have many enemys. The case will be soon alter'd, if I continue to keep my station as may make me of real use to the publick interest. I am sensible that my endeavours will have no object but the general interest, which in all these affairs is the particular interest of our king and of Bourbon; but, my lord, a proscrib'd man, who has no friends, and no integrity, may be soon distress'd and caball'd out of his credit by the very prince whom he endeavours to serve.

Is it not time that I should make a transition from my former state of my affairs in England? In a long conversation which I had yesterday with Mr. Walpole, I think that the whole difficulty was removed. In the present state of the court and of the party, should my interests be attempted, there would be a small number of persons made angry. Others who appear'd for me, might underhand foment this party against themselves, by urging that they were driven to comply, and that upon Mr. Walpole, to the strengthening their own party and weakening his. I have mention'd this, and I think answer'd Mr. Walpole; and in truth, my lord, if there be no other undertaking to finish my business, I should hope that this matter will terminate against me. Let me conjure you, my lord, one way or another, to get me out of suspense this winter. It is grown quite unsupportable, and it is the more so at this moment, because, if I am not assisted, I cannot settle myself in such a manner as will agreeable to me.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

measures to be myself a little better settled here, than I am at more, my lord, I intreat you, that this winter may not pass others have done. Let me be either restor'd, or told that I am tempted; in which case, I doubt not, but you will find the way what is necessary to secure the estate I have, and that which I want, if my father should drop.

I have writ to my lord Townshend as well as to Mr. Carter, I thought it proper to make a compliment in a few lines to Carter, and take no pretence of complaint from my behaviour. Adieu, I am living is with greater truth or a warmer friendship your most obedient servant. If you judg proper that I should take the liberty to mention my majesty att the opening of the parliament; and if you would send me any other letters, give me your orders and instructions. I shall carry my answer, and the execution of your lordship's commands.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Requests him to solicit his restitution.—Professes his devotion to the ministers.

MY LORD,

Paris, Decr.

YOU will see so much of my writing on this occasion, that I am sensible I should save you the trouble of a long letter. I am therefore, to refer you to what I have said to my lord Harcourt and Walpole. Your lordship has been pleas'd to express your confidence, frankness and generosity concerning my restitution, that I may have your powerful assistance to bring it about att this conjuncture. I fail now, I am persuaded that your lordship will not blame me, for the expectation of it. Since his majesty was first so good as to order me, I have endeavoured to make myself not unworthy of it, and I am now sending you the best proofs in my power, that I have nothing more to

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

II. Some measures should be taken to prevent, if possible, more errors, ²⁷ I will yet awhile believe them, from being committed. I think Mr. cannot be instructed to speak too strongly and too plainly on this o and in saying thus much to your lordship, I mean a service to the pri governs here, as well as to his majesty, and to the common interest of I am, my lord, with respect and truth, your lordship's most obedient servant.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

[Encloses a letter to lord Harcourt.]

nd (Tuesday evening.) I Have had company all day, and am a little order to night, so that I have not been able to write all the letters I in This to lord Harcourt, I desire you to send. I need not recommend that it may go in your packet to lord Townshend. You know how ought to desire, that neither Schaub nor his patron may know any my correspondence. Adieu, dear sir; I do assure you that I am, you shall always find me most faithfully your obedient humble servant

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARCOURT.

Communicates some intelligence.—Desires his correspondence may be kept from Carteret and Schaub.

December 30,

nd PRAY tell my lord Harcourt from lord Bolingbroke, that although r writt according to the first appearances, and according to the anci d by racter and present assurances of a certain person, yet in his letters to l court and to Mr. Walpole, as well as in the close of that to lord Tow enough is said to put them on their guard, besides which, the minutes took, are plain. However, lord Bolingbroke has seen, since Brinsf

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Lord Bolingbroke wishes and hopes that his friend will not cause, because there is one whom he hates before him; but will not answer for it. It is certain, that long before lord Bolingbroke else suspected it, and before the king of Spain could ask on for Spain; and it was as certain, that the late king of France send him there ten years ago, because his character was too word, things have an ill aspect, great art must be employed, taken to bring them right. Adieu. Brinsden will decypher you.

Lord Bolingbroke recommends one thing particularly to Walpole, and lord Townshend, that lord Carteret may not have of this correspondence. It would come soon to the ears of the tool of the women here, a coxcomb, and dangerous.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Without date or signature, but endorsed December 29, 1721.
Brinsden's hand-writing.

*Prevalence of the Spanish faction in various instances.—Polk
Bolingbroke, with respect to Horace Walpole's interference
Vrilliere's dukedom.—Lord Bolingbroke's restoration solicitation.*

IT is certain that the Spanish faction begins to be very busy in the court of France. Frejus, beyond dispute, is in it, tho' not suspected by the court of Bourbon. A strong proof of it, among others, is this, that a person quoted the duke d'Angoulême's case, as a precedent for the family of the present duke of Orleans, he objected to the person, because the duke of Angoulême was presumptive heir to the crown, and urged inadvertently enough, that to follow that precedent would give umbrage to the court of Spain. This fact is fresh and

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I. on this man's character, and on the jealousy which it may occasion ver
 27 The duke of Bourbon promises, that he will be very watchfull to him
 from doing any mischief, and the duke of Bourbon, certainly means
 says; but still there is danger from that quarter. Lord Bolingbroke
 hends that Mr. Walpole is not enough aware of this. Marshall de V
 not at all to be reckon'd upon, vain and light, newly reconcil'd to th
 of Bourbon, very capable of any new and rash measures: the duke o
 bon, between these two, may without a miracle be mislead. He has
 undoubtedly in the choice of Tessé to go to Spain. This man is so a
 in the Spanish faction, that he own'd to the late duke of Orleans, tha
 the king dye, he look'd on the king of Spain to be the rightfull heir, r
 standing the treaties, renunciations, &c. Monteleon, his bosom frien
 back to Spain at the same time. All this joyn'd to the marshall's intir
 lation to the court of Turin, may furnish matter of very disagreeable
 tion. Lord Bolingbroke has spoke plainly on this subject, likewise
 Walpole, who depends on the marshall's friendship, but will, it is to be
 be however on his guard. The duke of Bourbon having opened his
 lord Bolingbroke upon la Vrillier's affair, and confess'd himself un
 greatest difficulty imaginable; the king being violently sett against th
 and the nobility clamorous. Lord Bolingbroke thought that he threw
 favourable opportunity into Mr. Walpole's hands, when he acquaint
 with it. Had Mr. Walpole took the negociation from Schaub, h
 have undeceiv'd the king, by shewing him that this business which h
 represented to him as easy, was of the utmost difficulty. If att last t
 insisted upon it, and it succeeded, Mr. Walpole would have had th
 If it spun into length, and fail'd with the king's consent, Mr. Walpole
 duke of Bourbon under the utmost obligation, in no case he run any
 He was of another opinion, and declin'd talking with the duke of B
 upon it; lord Bolingbroke, however, represented it so to the duke of B
 as not to let him perceive that Mr. Walpole did decline helping him

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

the duke of Bourbon under still greater difficulties. Schaul-
 sentations, has made the king go so far, that he can hardly go
 certain, that the duke of Bourbon dares not go forwards. M
 might have found in this country many people who would h
 to marry her, and against whose promotion to the dukedom th
 been no objection; for instance, if madam de la Vrilliere's
 man, instead of the son, he is of so great quality that nobody c
 but Schaub, upon pretence of serving madam de Platen, has l
 of the king his master to serve la Vrilliere.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HA
*Describes the situation of parties in France, in regard to the fu
 the crown.—Gives advice.*

(January 12, 1724.) THIS is the second letter which I w
 Saunderfon's [Brinsden's] departure, and that is more by
 tended. The subjects on which you desire help and infor
 nice for one in circumstances as precarious as mine are: but
 lingbroke] sees so evidently the whole system of affairs expos
 ments, that stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] cannot forbear once m
 an account of what he observes, and to state his opinion to yo
 be mentioned, and on a multitude of others, which would n
 volume. You have thought perhaps that my former account
 little, and that Freeman [Bolingbroke] has fluctuated in his op
 have thought right. Those who have seen things nearest, h
 pearances vary almost every day, and have been ready to c
 ferently, at different times. Those who are best informed,
 known what to think. And those who are least inform'd, ha
 judge as their favourable or unfavourable opinion of the d
 leads them. The duke of Bourbon has a plain interest, he say

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

considerable, and the whole body of the people will fall in with this side. The princes give up or spoil their own cause; for Ellis [the king of Spain] despis'd, and the Italian faction dreaded here. In this light, every thing appears well.

But turn the tables, F. [Frejus] has an influence over Dunch [the king] which the duke of Bourbon is forc'd at present to submit to, which, perhaps, he did not at first see the consequence; but I hope, I believe he begins to be jealous of it. He has great confidence in V. [Villars] and T. [probably Tefse]. Now these persons are indisposed with Epfom [king of Spain]. The first is timorous; the second ready to change as his interest turns; the third imprudent to the last degree, tho' to all the little artifice of O1; and in Freeman's [Bolingbroke's] capable of going farther than the others, and faster too. There are dependants of some, or all of these, who are deep in the same project, a club of the richest and ablest men in Clermont [France,] and who at this time great authority in the revenue, are closely united to V. [Villars] intimate with the duke of Bourbon's mistress, and extremely trusted. These have been a good while in correspondence with O2 [probably Spain] by Cadis and St. Malo. Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] speaks positively, the information comes to him thro' the same channel, thro' which the Duke of Orleans had his. The effects of which information would have been with respect to this juncto, if he had liv'd longer. Add to all this, the duke of Bourbon's mistress is attached to him by no inclination, and is the most corrupt and ambitious jade alive. In this light, every thing is ill; so ill, that several people do not hesitate to think the duke of Bourbon determin'd against his true interest. Franklyn's [Bolingbroke's] opinion, is different from this. Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] believes, the proximity to the crown, makes a great impression on him; that he is very sincere in most of the general professions to Franks [Bolingbroke's] Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] which Villars is not to be taken for.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

very point of danger. The first and principal means of warding off the collision between the princes, which numbers are watchful to prevent, is certainly difficult; but which is certainly not impracticable. [Bolingbroke] has neglected nothing which he durst venture. Freeman [Bolingbroke] came from Versailles on Saturday, and says that this point was secure. He gave Child's [Mr. Walpole's] answer of it in confidence. Since that time, he finds it grown uncertain. You soon know from what cause this alteration proceeds. The duke of Orleans was yesterday in the same sentiments as last week, as to his son.

By this imperfect sketch, joyn'd to what has been said before, you get some notion of the present state of things. And you will be surpris'd I am not backward to serve the king, my country, my friends, and I may add those of Clermont [France] particularly; the king's son, whose true interest I am heartily solicitous for, as well as peace and tranquillity. You must not expect, I doubt, to see a clearer and more certain state very soon; and the only resolution to take at present, and which admits of no delay, is this; to take the measures that pass with more than ordinary care; to be informed even of the motions of all; and of all which the several cabals do there, to have in some measure the direction of those which pursue the king's interest, speak plainly, and kindly, and strongly to the duke of Bourbon, to shew him, above all things, to fix him in his true interest; to shew him, that he has no support, when he is firmly united to Dormer [king of England]; to the duke of Orleans; to keep a secret correspondence with the king of Orleans, and those who act for the duke, for he himself is not to be trusted. In short, to negotiate perpetually, for give me leave to say, that what Francis [Bolingbroke] lays so much weight upon, was made, and is so cordial, yet you would be in the wrong to relax in your attention. To look upon yourselves, in some measure, like careful tutors.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

II. [Walpole] and Harris. [lord Townshend]. I have good reasons for
 27. you this caution. You will be sure to take your measures to watch T
 bably Teffé] as well as his friend, and my old acquaintance Mo
 Nothing which Freeman [Bolingbroke] can do, has been or shall be ne
 but he thinks it will not be convenient to write any more in this manner
 are on your guard, that is enough. Adieu. Francis [Bolingbrok
 not doubt but he shall find on your side of the water, the same cordia
 the same zeal which he thinks he has evidently shewn.

Since this letter was writ, I have recollected a thing, which may seem
 trifles, but which I judge important enough to be added. Talking with
 Chivers [Horace Walpole] and giving him about persons and things,
 information Frederick [Bolingbroke] could, mention was made of
 Flemming [Bolingbroke] told nakedly and truly the pro and the con,
 own opinion to boot: he perceiv'd that Chester [Horace Walpole] w
 mediately jealous. This I tell you freely, Flemming [Bolingbroke]
 little unkindly, because he has acted a part which deserves confidence
 suspicion. If this man's being employed came in question, you may
 yourself that Franks [Bolingbroke] would speak as he did in the case
 [probably Teffé] but surely it is of some service in speaking to a friend
 tell all one observes, that he may judge the better. I will speak of
 Chester [Walpole] myself; but in the mean while, I thought it proper
 mention it to you, least some mistake should be received, and pass current
 my silence. Adieu, if my letters are of any use to you, your brethren
 the publick, I am sufficiently paid; but I must desire you to excuse me
 venture no more, since I may perhaps do Fretchville [Bolingbroke]
 hurt than I can do you good, by meddling in business, in which I have
 thing to do, and to which I have no very proper call. I just now
 form'd again, that the reconciliation does not go so well forward, as I
 wish. I am sorry for it, and will neglect nothing in my power.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

I Received your letter of the 13th of January by the court very sanguine, and I take it for granted, that you have found so, which are not explain'd. In the letter I have received from the court, I observe nothing positive, either for or against what you do assure you, that you might very safely venture your life on which I shall make to such obligations as you mention. I am strong enough to have worn out all engagements, except some of friendship, which I had contracted, and shall go back if I am under none, but those of gratitude and friendship to the king to bring me back. I am extremely glad that the trifle was receiv'd. The person* who received it, has writ me the letter imaginable. As to S.† he is so insignificant a fellow, that it is of mortification to imagine, that one must be on one's guard against him; am so, perfectly; and he shall have no real occasion of complaint, I may invent, I know not. I forgot to mention, that I believe I am now convinc'd of what I hinted to him some time ago, as soon as it is done; which is, that the person‡ nam'd to be minister at the present time is nam'd by the duke of Bourbon's whore, and her chief principal member is Monf. de la Vrilliere.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Without address or signature. In his own hand-writing, p. 10.

Complains of the opposition made to his restoration.—Hopes it will be successful.—Acts in concert with Horace Walpole.—Speaks contemptuously of the Duke of Devonshire.—Speaks of the Duke of Schaub.—Exculpates himself from the imputation of being a Jacobite interest, and of having paid a visit to Atterbury.—Expresses attachment to the king.

MY LORD,

Period III. 1720 to 1727. ceeding towards me, and of whose friendship I have received proofs. I do assure you, that I have not the least. Upon what 1724. writes, I observe that the opposition which you lay any weight into a very narrow compass. The torys will not, you think me, and I agree perfectly with your lordship, that if they take it is for their own sake, not for mine. The whigs, who are in court, and who will, for that reason, oppose my restitution, you likewise out of the case; and indeed since my restitution is against their opposition, this opposition ought not to be a reason, which does not make it one, against attempting my restitution. Therefore, whose opposition deserves consideration, are those, who are not to my friends, but have been hastily and unwarily drawn in by those, who apprehend I may be forming schemes against them, if I am restored. These persons, your lordship thinks, should be treated by most gentle and prudent methods, in which opinion, I readily assent. These methods, your lordship hopes, will be attended with success. It is inconceivable to my apprehension, that they should fail of it. My friends as have been hastily and unwarily drawn off, will gradually by reflection, come back to your sentiments; and for such of those who are doubtful of the part I may act after my restitution, surely, I may be convinced, that my lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole are as well rested in that matter as themselves, and can judge better of the whole matter, this affair is now brought to so short an issue in the present conjuncture possible, that I cannot but flatter myself it will be successful, and that if it should, by some unforeseen miracle, fail at this time, it will be sufficiently justify'd to my family, and to my friends, for taking it, and expecting it at no other.

I am glad that my letters have been received, and that they have meant them. I have made my compliments to Mr. Walpole, and expressed my sincerity upon his nomination. He will, I am persuaded, receive them with satisfaction.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

whiffing mean fellow, that I own to your lordship, whatever may be thought to be of, he can inspire me with nothing but to the marriage, how far it may be practicable at present, to ob- should the duke of Bourbon in earnest desire it, I know not; that I have acted no otherwise than in one of my former letters, and that I meddle neither directly nor indirectly in it, which your lordship on my word to affirm, if there be the least reason to do.

There remains, I think, nothing but the postscript of your letter to be answer'd, in which you ask me, what you may most to you ever hear again so idle a charge as that which you mention. I say, my lord, that it is a most impudent groundless lye, that is, that advances it, cannot be more averse to the jacobite interest, and that there is not a man under the sun, whom I have less reason more to complain of, than the late bishop of Rochester. I went to the waters of Aix by Namur, from Mons, but the road being so bad for a coach, I came at my return by Bruffels. Was I should take the same road, without supposing that I should be in all which has pass'd, on such a silly foundation; and any other than this, no man living will, I am sure, be hardy enough to say that for all, my lord, be pleas'd to depend on what I formerly told you of returning home, or the fear of continuing abroad, have never any influence on my conduct, with respect to the part I have openly taken these seven years; and in which I should continue, were not my private interest to be attached to the pretender, as it is to the king. I am, my dear lord, your most faithful and obedient servant.

(Feb. 3, 1724.) I Have concluded a marriage for the king's daughter, on which occasion, monsieur le Duc has been so good as to offer several very great advantages to the young couple. The

Period III. There is not a man of common sense, except the inquisitor parts, and D. Miguel da Guerra, who, besides his parts, has

1720 to 1727.

1724.

I have hesitated some time, whether I should mention to you is in my opinion, of great moment; but which I have no choice and may therefore seem officious by doing so. I will, however, for I had rather run the risque of a ridicule, than that of neglecting to be useful to the king's service, and to the service of my friends. The present king* of Spain will be certainly as much an humane wife, as his predecessor was to his. Your lordship easily in consideration has been entertained by the dutchess dowager a thousand reasons concur to make her desire, in the present conjuncture to cultivate and improve the influence she has always had on her husband, and which she has so far neglected, by an indolence too natural to her. She has at this moment no body about the queen of Spain, who Lord Bolingbroke has been consulted in this affair; and he too has insinuated, that since none fit for such a trust could be sent from England, giving suspicion, the best expedient would be to give the management of the affair to the minister of England, whenever such a one should be instructed in his passage thro' France. Your lordship has twenty advantages, which would with good management redound to the service by this means. The expedient was so far from being objectionable, that lord Bolingbroke was desir'd to give notice, when any person was sent from England to Spain, and to inform them, whether his character would render it prudent to trust him in so nice a matter. Adieu.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO HORACE WALPOLE

*On the refusal of sir Matthew Decker to pay the money
Bolingbroke.*

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

please to give this letter to his lordship, and let him know I will do him all the service I am able in this affair; my lord Han-
nion, that madame de Villette should present a petition to Mo-
desire his interposition with his majesty in her behalf, and
taken that only madame de Villette's name should appear in
ter, by which means the king may better insist on obliging
justice, and to repay the money, which he now, as I said, de-
think your way should be to let lord Bolingbroke and madame
manage this matter themselves with the duke of Bourbon, without
in it, or saying any thing of it at first; till the duke shall speak
and then you may undertake to use your best offices, and pro-
fistance you are able to give for procuring justice to madame de
petition. And of this you may give all the assurances you
my lord Bolingbroke, that as soon as the duke of Bourbon shall
to you upon it, you will recommend the affair in the strongest
you make no question but that I shall promote it here with
earnestness.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Thanks him for civilities shewn to lady Bolingbroke.—And desires to be satisfied with a partial restitution.

MY LORD,

SINCE I have not only an opportunity, but a pretence of
grace, you will, I am persuaded, give me your leave to do
at least return you my thanks for those marks of your friendship
have given me, and for my share in the obligations which you
laid on the person* who delivers this letter to you. I shall
test confidence the effect of those promises which have been

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

II. that I am with much truth, your grace's most humble and most
 27. fervant.

LADY BOLINGBROKE, AS MADAME DE VILLETTE, TO
 TOWNSHEND.

[Without date, but written in 1724.]

*Thanks him for his civilities, and expects the fulfilment of the promises.
 Bolingbroke's return.*

nd **L**E jeudy. Les raisons qui me privent, my lord, de l'honneur de voir
 avant mon depart m'affligent et m'inquiennent. Je souhaite de tout
 cœur que vôtre indisposition n'ait point de suite. Si vous jugés à propos
 vous servir du remede que j'ai fait venir à Mr. de Walpole, et dont
 gens se trouvent bien chez nous je vous en enverray. Je n'ai pu faire
 ma confection qu'a midy. Je pars dans le moment comblée de
 litesces et de celles de Mr. de Walpole; mais je compte sur quelque
 plus solide qui sont vos paroles et l'honneur de vôtre amitié dont je vous
 mande à l'un et à l'autre la continuation. Je vous supplie d'estre bien
 suadés de mon sincere attachement à vos interst et de celuy de mon
 de me croire aussi parfaitement, que je le suis, milord, votre très humble
 très obissante servante.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM

*Sends this letter by his wife, madame de Villette.—Expresses uneasiness
 own uncertain situation.*

May 22, 1724.

nt **T**HE marquise will acquaint you, my dear friend, with the particu
 fons of her journey, but I cannot let her go without saying someth

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

long as I continue unable to take any permanent measure, and my expedients form'd in the two different and incompatible views of staying and of returning home. In short, neither my mind nor my body will permit me to remain any longer in this condition; and I should be much richer, if I had four years ago lay'd aside all expectation. The only consideration which kept me from it then, was the consideration of what I ow'd to my family, and much more of what I ow'd to myself. I hope that I am acquitted to both. I will certainly not shut myself, nor renounce that claim which the king and his ministers have on me, and which has been fortified by the frankness and openness of my conduct. But I cannot live any longer in an inn. My health decays a good deal, and perhaps come to the latter scenes of life: it would be ridiculous to continue in a state of fruitless expectation, hardly to be justify'd during the time. I will assemble all the poor remnants of my shattered fortune, and settle with such a settlement as they are sufficient to make me, be it where it will.

I need not ask your friendship to the bearer of my letter. She should be obliged to go in such a manner, and on such an errand, but to people tir'd with suspense, the prospect of coming home sweetens every thing. She will appear just as she finds her account of her money, which John Drummond put and kept in that rascal Decker's hands. If it is not yet pay'd, she is made a widow, and has nothing to do with my affairs, but comes about her business. Any dissimulation is allowable to get out of the hands of robbers. There is nothing in the world I should be so glad of as to see her. I hope, that some how or other that may be contriv'd. Pray enquire for me, and desire him to continue me that friendship which I shall last as long as I last. I desire to make my compliments to all whom I have not the honour to know much, but whose character I esteem highly. To our common friends be pleas'd to be my plenipotentary.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

27. I. feavour, and the perpetual disorder which dwelt in my stomach, had quite down, and exhausted all my spirits; but the marquise, who knows never disguise any thing to her, not even those things which may be capable, ought to have moderated her own alarm, and yours, by what I the end of the same letter as acquainted her with my illness. God be I am very much better. Not only my feavour seems effectually cured, my stomach begins to be re-establish'd, and I am in hopes that my become worth wearing some time longer. It is not necessary to live, so necessary to live agreeably, that I do not well conceive how any resolve to live otherwise, unless he be chained down to life by the force of his heart, and the force of friendship. For my own part, there is else which makes existing desirable to me, and if the marquise and one friends did not attach me to life, I should soon grow tir'd of the world grows tir'd of bad company, and wish to be out of it. These are thoughts of a melancholy man, my dear friend, but of a reasonable one who has been taught by time and reflection to see things as they are, to rate them according to their true value. I wish with all my heart that the act which is to pass in my favour may be soon brought on, and I suppose it will be so. But I know too well the necessity of timing things in government, to be surpriz'd or concern'd at some delay. The state you are of people who expect they know not what, who are ready to be angry, know not why, and eager to act, tho' they have neither plan nor conduct, a state which I have been several times a witness of. In a government of our's, not only the stronger passions, but every little humour, has force to ruffle the face of public affairs. All which an honest and sensible man should do, is to steer on with calmness, and to guide himself with the reins, amidst things, whilst the herd of mankind are deliver'd over to their passions.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Entertained hopes of a complete restoration during the life of the late king, but he relinquished those hopes on his death.—Is determined to retire to France, and to live principally in France.—Motives for so doing.

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

Paris

YOU think too reasonably yourself, to be surprized, that a man of the use of his reason, who is almost threescore, and who has spent upwards of thirty years as I have lately passed, should begin to consider how he has spent his life, his character, his temper, his fortune, and his circumstances; to review the whole of his life, and to wind up the whole piece. I have done this very seriously, and very much at leisure, on this subject, since I left England. I take the opportunity of Mr. Chetwynd's return thither, to communicate my thoughts, and the result of them, my resolutions, to you, with a confidence that you will approve the one, and assist me in executing the other. When the late king lived, I had a just claim, and a fair prospect, of a restoration, and on the conjuncture, so that I might, and did expect my restoration, and I settled accordingly amongst you. Since that time I have entertained no such expectation, nor have, in truth any of that kind. Give me leave to assume upon this particular of fact is true, what I should not assume perhaps on another; but it is equally true; whether I have done well or ill, whether I have done you to any purpose or to none, I have acted with as little regard to my interest as any man ever did. They who believe so will do me this justice is all I ask of them. The same public spirit, and the same public good would carry me still on, if your circumstances were still the same. The means of being useful to you were in my power. You are a great and formidable minority within doors, and you have a great majority without doors. I am still the same proscribed man, surrounded with difficulties, and

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I. What I mean by this is, that he who will judg rightly of the conduct of affairs, must not judg of this or that particular part alone, but must consider the general principle on which our conduct proceeds, and what the effects have been, and will be. But I stop here, and had rather leave my memoirs a little obscure, than run into reasonings which I endeavour every day to get. It is time I should forget them.

By the letter which Mr. Chetwynd has given you from me before this, and by what he has said to you in consequence of the discourse he and I had at our parting, you are enough informed, my dear sir William, of the resolution I have taken concerning the scheme of my future life. I am confident you approve it. You would be sorry, I am sure, if I wanted the counsel I say to myself, thy part in public life is over. Let me depend on your assistance and thirst for enabling me to live like a cosmopolite the rest of my days. To that purpose, you must dispose of Dawley for me. Were my father likely to approve this measure would be prudent, and since he is likely to live, it is necessary. To what purpose should I keep an expensive retreat, where in all probability I shall never retire? in one sense, and no improper one, it may be said I have no excuse for chusing to be at home, except two, an opportunity of being useful to my friends and my country, or the means of completing that wish, by frequent, solemn, and unsolicited promises of which, the late king had brought me into England. The opportunity is over, the means are not in my power, and in the present state of things, the end is no longer desirable. Up to the head, I hope to have soon your answer. Chavigny will convey it safely to Nocquet, and du Nocquet must be directed to send it under cover to the Marquis of Matignon. In things of this kind, the canal of Chavigny is the most proper, for he is a friendly man. Whilst I was at home, I served for a time to the whigs, and they were threatened with my coming into power. I should be presumed, this cant is out of date. But if any thing of that kind should ever be offered to you, or to any other of my friends, of

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

mischief here. If either of these two things are so much as me leave to say, that I expect from your friendship, that you will do them with the contempt they deserve, and answer from me, to London as fast as post horses can carry me, and the winds perceive notice, that any man has an accusation to lay to my charge mentioned to me, in one of your letters this summer, my lord Hardwicke desire you, whenever a fair and unaffected opportunity offers, to do humble service to him; and to assure him that, wherever I live, I will serve for him as long as I live, a great esteem, and a most intimate friendship. Adieu, my old and dear friend, I embrace you with tenderness.

It comes to my mind, to mention to you a thing, which you may or not, as you shall judge proper. I let fall to Pulteney remarks that in several publick relations, and in others that I have seen, of my late lord Marlborough's conduct in the operations of the war, and I believe unjustly; the expedition to the Moselle in 1705, and of 1707, and others. In whatever I write that is historical, I am not an apologist, panegyrist, nor satirist; and besides, I shall touch on marches, battles, sieges, encampments, and that inferior detail of such I think it. But yet I should be glad to do justice to Marlborough, where I can do it with truth on my side. If my grace, his widow, thinks fame of any concernment, I will not use of any materials she may give me, for clearing up the parts, where it has been most disguised, or is least known. I have liberty to do as she pleases, but she ought to take it well, if I give her a hint.

I say nothing to you of your winter campaign. I suppose you are making compliments, and giving money. However it passes, your share in it, will be that of an honest and a wise man, and not do much good, you will prevent at least some evil. You

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I. by our union and intimacy; if I have not encreased the number, I suppose I have exasperated the malice of my enemys during my stay in England by the part I acted there. As to my friends, I do not suppose that I have encreased their number, or warmed their affection. 'Tis a common case, that enemys look backwards, as well as forwards, and put both to account; but friends seldom look backwards, always forwards; and what we call gratitude is generally expectation. But be this as it will, I fear nothing from those who are opposed; I ask nothing from those I have served. If you hinder the consequences of the revolution, from destroying that constitution, which the Revolution was meant to improve, and perpetuate; I shall end my days in the obscurity of retreat, with far greater satisfaction, than the splendour of the world gave me, as busy as I have appeared in it, and as fond as I have been of it. I grow every hour more indifferent to life, and to the common concerns of life. It is fit, that he who approaches the usual term of life, should be so. But this indifference will never affect my sentiments for the public, or those of private friendship. As long as my heart continues to beat, I shall beat warmly for Great Britain, and for you. Once more, dear friend, My best respects to all yours.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM

Advises temperance.—Speaks of his own state of health.—Wants of sleep.—Occasional dejection of spirits.—Virulently abuses Sir Robert Walpole.—Says that the sudden death of George the First prevented his disgrace.—Finds fault with the party in opposition.—Considers corruption as more dangerous than the prerogative.—Condemns the Walpoles.—But approves the peace.—Says that the consequences of the system established at the peace of Utrecht, and of introducing the Spaniards into Italy.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

can, the greatest into the least, the longest into the shortest. but I have frequently interruptions of sleep, and great depression. I relieve myself, when the first happen, by yielding to them, and they take me; I rise, and read, or write, or walk about. I give no consent to this fluttering activity of the spirits. When I cannot sleep, I would, I take it as I can; and like my brother animals, I recollect in the day, what I lost in the night. They say, this method is good. But if it shortens life in one sense, it prolongs life in another. We lose time enough in sleep, but to lose any in endeavouring to sleep, is a necessary profusion. As to the other evil you complained of, the languor and depression of spirits, temperance and even abstinence is the remedy. It is for our spirits flag by repletion. He who neglects this remedy, is like the lord * of Cirencester. You and I use too much. I will use more, and since I cannot go abroad to fetch a wall, I will turn poacher, and have desired Charles to apply to you and to assist in tempting me into the woods. I remember that I had a gallon of milk coffee, and five pounds of biscuit before him, and he claimed to Pope and me, against the immorality of using excessive food, and an appetite. But a much better casuist, and a much better physician, Cheyne, even the aforesaid lord of Cirencester, prescribes exercise, and indigestion by the trituration of aliments, to maintain a due quantity of blood, and to promote the most sensible benefit of insensible perspiration. I could not help saying thus much about health, and the subject of it, to be treated by one, who has passed the period at which the art of living commences, the commencement of old age, these nine years, in writing to one who is at that period very nearly.

You overrate by much, my friend, the merit of those sentiments, and that have produced the resolution I communicated to you, on Chetwynd's return into England. There is some courage of

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I. I had certainly consulted my personal interest more, and saved a great deal on both the heads of trouble and expence. But I know not whether I have been so well satisfied with myself in either case. Tho' the late king would not support me openly against his ministers, he would have plotted against them, and we should have served him, our country, and ourselves, demolishing that power that is become tyranny in the paws of the great and the greatest jackanapes upon earth. It is therefore a satisfaction that I was not wanting to my friends, to my country, and to myself in this juncture, the advantages of which, were defeated by nothing but death. When the present king came to the throne, I hesitated on whether I should act, I own it to you with sincerity, but I hesitated only for a moment. I saw the consequences of the event with respect to me. I saw that I should have many difficultys to encounter, more mortifications to bear, and many others, that of drudging in a lower form of business than it became me to do, and being the common butt of the most foul mouth'd calumny. When I was engaged, a party was formed, I had contributed to form it; and I neither expected, nor desired (as many persons have heard me declare whether they believed me or no) any favour, or benefit to myself, yet I thought it my duty not to decline the service of this party, in this cause, till it either succeeded, or despaired of success. It is therefore a satisfaction to me, that I have fulfilled this duty, and I had my share in the last measure that will be made, perhaps, to preserve a constitution which is almost destroyed under pretence of mending or defending it. There are those that will attack the man, or deem him an hypocrite, who assigns such motives of conduct; could they have their reasons for such judgments. But you will not quarrel with me; you alone I will account for mine.

I know not whether you may judge as despondingly as I do, concerning the present state of our constitution. But be pleased to dwell in your thoughts one moment on these short and obvious reflexions. The corruption

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

enjoy my soul in great serenity, and that no one of those which my enemys, I suppose, triumph, takes away in the least of my mind, or the happiness of my life. I am sure you will and therefore I assure you, upon my honour, that it is strictly

Our ministers are certainly very lucky, and very privileged; they intrigue themselves into distress, and negotiate public affairs in confusion, far from being censured, they are assisted, and the strength and wealth of the nation layed forth to redeem every blunder they commits, and to repair every cross accident which his brother ministers in foreign affairs. When they are drawn out of these difficulties, or something else of other men, the merit is ascribed to them, and the reward. In the present conjuncture, I rejoyce as much as I can to do. I think the emperor luckily off, and in a better condition than he was. The publick tranquillity is restored. There is an appearance that future quarrels by the guaranty of France to the pragmatics will prevent the old quarrel is, in my apprehension, as likely to produce any more ever. Consider. By the treaty of Utrecht, the emperor was not contented for, except Sicily. Sicily was given to a prince; very weak, enough, but not force enough, to light a new fire in Italy, throughout the rest of Europe; and the emperor, on many accounts, was not without this fire of himself, by attacking Sicily. His rival for the Spanish throne who had ambition and force enough, was barred by the neutral powers on this foot, things might have been kept quiet in the same state. If any new disposition of feudal estates in Italy, had been thought of, I believe it would have been, the emperor might have had Sicily, and the duke of Savoy might have been indemnified, and aggrandized, and not to disturb the publick tranquillity. The partition of the dominions must be deemed pretty indifferent, after all the changes that have been made, and consented to on all sides. But the great point for

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

II. same country. Is this worth all the blood that has been spilt, and ²⁷ money that has been spent, and all the distraction that has been from the treaty of London of 1716, the triple and quadruple alliance exclusively?

To return to myself, and to private affairs. My resolution being taken, that the sooner that part of it which you, and my other friends think kind as to execute, is executed, the better it will be for me, since I shall be at my ease, till I am better settled abroad, and since I cannot be so till I know what to reckon upon. I think it however of great consequence that the matter should be proceeded in, with the caution and secret I have directed. You will see what I writ lately to Mr. Corry, and you will find the whole in your thoughts. I chuse the first plan, for the reasons mentioned at large in former letters. I only propose the second as necessary in the second place. In all events, that house must not be a charge to me, nor the profits of the estate be consumed in management. I thank you for many compliments to lord Hardwicke. You will renew them as opportunity offers. He acted an affectionate part to me, and I shall always preserve the memory of it. By the message which lord Carteret delivered to the dutchess of Devonshire, I have done what I judged right. If she is in earnest, in the business she made, I shall hear from her. If she is not, I must do as well as I can without her grace's assistance. Whenever Mr. Leveson comes into this country, he shall be sure of my best advice and assistance, and of this I desire to assure my lord Gower, with my best compliments. All here salute you. My respects attend on my lady and Mrs. Wyndham. As to the conveyance of letters thro' Mons. de Chavigny, and Mons. du Nocque, I am sure enough, you will let me hear from you at your leisure. Adieu, dear William, I am ever unalterably your's, whether in the world, or out of it. I shall be so good as to embrace Batt. for me; I wish I could have half his good fortune, that of selling dear. I shall buy land no more, no, not a

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

(Argeville, October 30, 1742.) YOU was pleased to return my letter in a friendly manner, when I was last in England, the marks of your friendship made me feel myself bound to take the first opportunity, I have had since I have been in this country, to make my acknowledgements to your lordship. I am very sensible of your good will and friendship, though I was a stranger to whom you were so obliging personally, whilst many, who owed me much, affected to show me dislike and their enmity, because there was a mean merit acquired by me, and even as far back, as when *the favour of the late king could not be secured against the malice of his minister, nor secure me the full effect of his favour*. These are obligations, my lord, and such as I shall remember all my life. I now lead, the place I inhabit, and the company I find, afford me nothing, that can be of information or entertainment to your lordship. The scene, and one wherein the greatest talents may be, and indeed are, exercised, is opened. God grant, it may be closed by barrages, and family ambition, which I apprehend that we revived, or encouraged, by the quadruple alliance, and have favoured too much ever to be satisfied with, but one corner of this scene; and I believe your lordship will excuse my silence ever about that.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARDWICKE.

Accuses Sir Robert Walpole of meanness and treachery.

(Battersea, Nov. 12, 1744.) I Send you two volumes of my Essay, which I desire to see, of which a few are printed by Pope's direction. I hope they may give your lordship possibly some satisfaction. The first is intended for a young man, who begins his studies, than for your lordship. I am sure them your lordship will find some addressed to Pope, on rather antimetaphysical matters. The letter writ to Wyndham I send it; and with it two others: one was writ to lord St. John, and communicated to me from lord Sunderland. His lordship told me,

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

II. treacherous a part the minister in power acted under the mask of good
²⁷ trouble you no further. I only ask your indulgence, to which I have no claim, that I obey your commands, and that I shew myself naked, as I am to you. I wish to hear, that a spirit of conciliation has operated, such as the present distress requires. I am, my lord, with true respect, &c.

It may be proper to say, by way of postscript, that tho' some things in my letters to Pope, may appear heterodox, they will be more so, relative to the theology, which I do not much esteem, than to evangelical religion, which I respect as I ought. Many inaccuracies must be excused, since they were never corrected, nor read by me, since the first heat in which they were writ.

ETOUGH'S minutes of a conversation with sir Robert Walpole, on the attack of lord Bolingbroke and the duchess of Kendal to obtain his dismissal in 1737.

(September 13, 1737.) I Had an opportunity for full conversation with sir Robert Walpole. I mentioned then to him, Bolingbroke's report of his often attending the late king at supper, and of his interest being so great, that it was with the utmost importunity and address, he persuaded the king to defer the making him prime minister, till he returned from Hanover. Walpole condescended to give me this explanation. He said lying was so natural to St. John, that it was impossible for him to keep within the bounds of truth. He might truly boast of his prospects, for they were very great; though they were not so fixed and near as he pretended. He had the entire interest of the duchess of Kendal, and having this, what consequences time would produce, required no explanation. St. John, he averred, had once conversed with the king, which was owing to his importunity.

The king had given sir Robert a memorial of St. John's, consisting of several sheets of paper. He observed the cover was not sealed, and therefore the deliverer of it must certainly know from whence it came, and peruse the contents. On the two Turks disclaiming all knowledge of the

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

this was not done, the clamour would be, that he kept him would allow none to come near him, to tell the truth. This the dutchess, who promised her interest with the king.

When sir Robert next attended her grace, she said the king seeing St. John, taking for granted, it must make you uneasy. He could not be easy till St. John was admitted. This was so much that he was soon after gratified with an audience. Lord Lechmere came upon business at the same time, he enquired who was in, he heard Walpole was also at court: he then imagined him to be so. Fully possessed with this conceit, he went in to the king. He was willing Walpole, as not being contented with doing mischief by introducing one who was, if possible, much worse; and thus he did, offering the papers to be signed, which he brought as chancellor. This diverted the king extremely, who made it the subject of conversation when sir Robert waited on him; he slightly mentioned St. John's pretensions, and called them bagatelles.

I have been thus minute and exact, because St. John and his friends made the thing surer and more immediate, than can be justified. On the other side, some of the great man's nearest relations are deemed it as groundless, and have thought fit to represent his sort of apprehension from his rival. I will therefore repeat several times, and particularly at the end of the conversation, what I said in these words. "As he had the dutchess entirely on his side, add, what must or might in time have been the consequence. I saw the same day, that the bill in favour of St. John, is wholly owing to the influence of the dutchess. Either the present viscount or his brother William, conveyed eleven thousand pounds from the king to lady Wallingham, the dutchess's niece.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

1723—1725.

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE DISTURBANCE IN IRELAND, ON ACCOUNT OF WOOD'S PATENT COINING COPPER MONEY.

CONTAINING

1. *Correspondence between sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle, of Grafton, and lord Carteret.*
2. *Between lord chancellor Midleton, and Thomas, and Saint John Br*

1. *Correspondence between sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle, of Grafton, and lord Carteret.*

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN

Complains of lord chancellor Midleton's disrespectful behaviour.

(January 24, 1723.) I Don't touch upon each head of your letter. Mr. Hopkins * relating to me, yet they make a due impresson, and I shall find my advantage in those hints, which, I am sensible, proceed from the truest friendship, as I am, that your grace's professions thereupon, are sincere; in confidence of which, I will take the liberty to mention the complaint of the lord chancellor to me, which is not at all obliging, and which I believe you will think very extraordinary. I must acquaint you, that I was in the country, the king's letter appointing the lord chancellor

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

before I arriv'd, obtain'd a new letter to be prepared and away by the last post, not favoring me with a visit, tho' I am till this morning (my public day) and then so far from any made no mention of this proceeding. This usage, I have call'd but another part of it more, viz; his procuring the king's letter contrary to the usual forms observ'd in all or most cases, as when you see it, and which is a slight I have not deserved: this behaviour to the king, who does not at all approve of it, compared his majesty so, as that he will not be uneasy to have a letter of signing another letter, if the lords justices think proper upon the road, in order to pay the proper compliment to the king in the address. As I write to your grace as a particular friend, who has both my honor and interest at heart, I know you will in regard to both, and treat this in the manner you think proper.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOLE

Dissatisfaction on account of Wood's patent

SIR,

Dublin

AFTER the ceremony and forms, upon first coming into the country a little over, I took the first opportunity of discoursing with the persons here, and with those likewise in whom I had most interest. The matter which I found was in every body's mouth that I could hear of, which I was inform'd was the subject of all conversations, was the new copper-plate patent; I open'd it as a point I had much at heart, and the arguments I was furnished with, to induce them to come into it, in order to support the king's patent, I mean the new copper-plate; I was sorry to find it is so distastfull to the country; that even the most forward to enter into measures agreeable to our side of the question, instances dare not undertake the defense of this patent: the

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I. 27. They give me reason to hope, that other things which had rais'd some
 27. humour before I came here, may be kept from giving disturbance to the
 in case people are not thrown into ill humour by an opposition to what
 be mov'd in parliament for their relief upon this head. In what form
 will be introduc'd, I can't yet learn; nor do I know whether it is yet
 there being few members yet in town; but I plainly see, there will be
 avoiding some disagreeable proceedings upon it, and fear we shall be very
 embarrass'd, whatever turn it takes. I understand, that some time ago
 presentation from the council here wou'd have been press'd to be sent to
 England upon this subject, but was wav'd upon my being soon expected
 A paper has been printed here, call'd Ireland's consternation, where
 grant is set out in the worst light; and is plainly calculated to stir up ill
 but several of our friends seem to think, that some of the objections
 answerable: a stop is put to the publication of it, but whether thro' the
 ccretion of the printer, or for the author to amend it, I am not sure
 expect to see something of the same kind abroad, when the parliament
 I cou'd not forbear sending you in general the sense of this country upon
 affair, and shall trouble you farther, when I have learnt any thing worth
 notice; in the mean time, I beg you to be persuaded, that if this point
 a manner disagreeable to us both, which I much fear, it shall not be
 my want of labour and endeavours.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Suspects that the accounts of the discontents in Ireland are exaggerated.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 31,

I Am very much concerned at the account your grace gives me, of the
 position of people with regard to the copper money, and am truly
 much surpris'd at it. 'Tis impossible to judge of the objections 'till
 them; and I cannot but yet think, 'tis rather a popular run without con-

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

trouble that is prepar'd for us, in order to make you easy, least they wou'd vouchsafe to let us know these unanswerable objections, and tell us, what they propose, that can be of service possibly be comply'd with. You know, my lord, all that I desire, and I shall be heartily sorry for your sake, that the first given of this kind, shou'd arise under your administration, to avail you to have conquer'd all other difficultys. I am aware, and I do not think alike of this matter; I think I foresee it, and if I shou'd be the first, I believe I shall not be the only one made sensible of them. You know that I am most sincerely,

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Laments the disagreeableness of his situation.—Complains of his conduct.

MY DEAR LORD,

Dublin, S

I Shall not take up much of your time, since I send you a copy of my letter. I write to Mr. Walpole, it is all that we can inform either him of at present. I believe you may imagine how disagreeable business has been to me, I think myself most unfortunate, that has happen'd in my time; however I beg that you will depend on this case, that the whole earth could not have gott through this, its being laid before the king. You see how the chancellor has liberty to go on in the way he does, it is every way possible, may happen that will be disagreeable in the progress of the matter, yett I hope, with the help of the faithfull servants of the king, all endeavours to do hurt. I am, with the utmost truth, my

I write my public letter to lord Carteret, from whom I have not heard one since he left London.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

MY DEAR LORD,

November 11,

II. 27. I Send your lordship enclosed, Mr. Walpole's to your lordship, in answer to your's of the 25th October. I perceive Mr. Walpole did not think proper to send your lordship's letter to the duke of Grafton, and I must own an humble servant to you all, I am very glad he did not. The duke of Grafton has wrote a very long elaborate letter to Mr. Walpole, thorough and wounded at Mr. Walpole's private letters, and taking them in a manner I am very sure Mr. Walpole never design'd them. There were indeed expressions, that I was sorry to see, but for the sake of our friend (who always had a good heart, and I dare say will ever be sensible who were his only friends) I will attribute the cause of them to the great distress he finds himself and the public affairs in in that kingdom. The manner and public part of the letter describes the discontents in a very high manner that our friends are cool, and our enemies outrageous, and that there is no one man of credit in the kingdom, that would openly take upon himself the defence of this patent, which is certainly in every article defensible and can have no real objections in it, even to the Irish, but what are the consequences of the dependency of that kingdom, which I fear too many friends and foes in Ireland, are for shaking off; and something must be done but God knows when or where, to prevent this growing evil. Your lordship will see, by Mr. Walpole's letter to lord Carteret, to what a height the passions are come by their last address; it is, my lord, very plain what they are, and I send your lordship a copy of what the duke of Grafton sent Mr. Walpole, and was what was first proposed, as you see, by Mr. Broderick. The duke of Grafton says, the best that could be obtained, was the address now stands.

Your lordship will see what was done in England (pensions and the object of the Irish resentment, and I believe, if there had been no Irish politicks at the bottom of this attack, it would never have been to this height. Your lordship will recollect who told you Ireland

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

and screening himself by the behaviour of some, whom I suppose to be the lord lieutenant's friends. What he seems to have given a favourable answer from the king; and by the letters I received from the king at Hanover, of the 22d of October, O. S. for Walpole; I perceived that they had designed them one, that I suppose would have been agreeable to the king already concerted with them. Your brother * in his to Walpole, and Meritt, in his not being tenacious of his own thoughts, in his having written under your answer, and has sent to Mr. Walpole the draughts of the answer, I am apt to believe, he would not so readily have yielded, if it could have been avoided. Your lordship does undoubtedly see and feel from what may arise in this affair may arise. In one of the intercepted letters from some of the ministers, there is express mention of a great lady,* that was to be made an advantage from the patent.

Tho' I have already troubled your lordship so long, that I must be ashamed, I must send you a paper given me last week by the bishop of London, the affair of the primacy of Ireland. I think it will be of consequence, and upon the whole I do not see, what can be done to prevent what the bishop of London proposes. The bishop of London is not so roughly with us, and so sensibly, that I believe your lordship will be glad to take his opinion. I find by him, the bishop of Winchester, that he recommends Dr. Chandler, now bishop of Litchfield, to the post, which is by no means proper. He has parts, but a very odd understanding, and is governed by nobody, except the archbishop, and sure that is not a good service: the primate is not yett dead, and so your lordship has no need of it. I have not been wanting in my endeavours to convince the king of London, how truly your lordship and Mr. Walpole are friends, and how desirous you are in all ecclesiastical affairs, of being directed by him. I think it has had its effect, and he both thinks of it, and does as we wish.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOLE

1723.

*Complains of lord Townshend's silence.—Obstructions given to
Addresses of both houses.—General panic seizes even the
Bitterly reproaches lord chancellor Middleton's conduct,
removal.—Character and conduct of Dr. William King
Dublin.*

SIR,

Dublin

Orford
Papers.

I Have been very unwilling to trouble you with my private
than the necessity of affairs, or an explanation of my own
absolutely requir'd; and tho' I have not hitherto particular
the receipt of that private letter of the 26th of October (the
kind I have been favour'd with for eight weeks past) yet be
you that I have the most gratefull sense of the good offices
lord Townshend have done me, in makeing a due impressio
jesty, with regard to the behaviour of a certain family h
chiefly owing the great obstruction which has been given to
ness this session, and my own continual disquietude, ever fir
of it. I must however confess, that I thinke myself very unh
all the difficultys I have had to struggle with, I have never be
one line from my lord Townshend, since my arrival in th
my uneasiness upon this head, can't but be very great, as y
since the only letter his lordship intended me, imported a d
duct in so strong terms, that in goodness to me, you forbo
Your sentiments being so much the same, on account of my c
myself oblig'd to offer to his lordship the same reasons in
which I troubled you with, and that I might with the greater
you alike, I sent him the whole correspondence which has p
Whatever failings I am chargeable with, I flatter myself, you

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

neither in the debates, nor in the result, as in the upper house, soon discern upon reading the papers inclosed. The first partition of the commons, as far as is scored, was settled at a king's chief servants of that house in my closet; all that followed by way of amendment by the peevish people in the house, debated and struggled, was at last receiv'd, the former independent country-gentlemen upon this subject, returning so strong upon no standing a division. Those who are more immediatly under my eye, strenuously debated, and protested against the amendment to his majesty in what manner he shou'd proceed, after he in gracious and extensive words, assured them of his doing every thing in his power for their satisfaction, &c.

Mr. Conolly, the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney general, and others of the best ability and intention, found it strong to venture a division, tho' they sufficiently testified their dissent to the answer, and in my conscience were very hearty in using every means to avoid any thing in the address which might carry the least disrespect or distrust, which they urg'd both in public and private as agreeable to good policy as well as duty. Indeed, as to the party as I formerly hinted, there was no making any impression upon their favour, and yet 'tis certain, Mr. Conolly has lost some ground in his influence, by being represented as too cool in the whole enquiry. As it is visible that that gentleman has not so great an influence formerly, so it is as sure, that no one person has a personal interest in the management of those who cover'd their true intentions by the pretence of this grievance, that I have discover'd such a disposition in the king's best freinds, that they even were apprehensive of popular clamours. Letters from the electors in the country to their members, from Dublin (some through weakness, others thro' malice) flocking

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} missioners of the revenue, and 'twas no secret, that the com
 1723. at Mr. Conolly. Upon a full hearing and examination, the
 scandalous and malicious, and the temper of the house did
 disadvantage of the speaker, or to the satisfaction of the B
 pos'd pretty openly their malice. When the address in re
 answer, was resolv'd in the manner abovemention'd, Mr. Bro
 prefs the dispatch of the money bill, and had the assurance
 world shou'd be convinc'd how some gentlemen had been
 if they had a design to obstruct the passing that bill, but his
 by generall Wynn, who put him in mind of his talking in th
 times in the house.

The lords had a division upon the motion for an address
 against 7, in the last number, the only peevish lords worth
 thought the answer not satisfactory, were the archbishop
 lord Abercorn. I can't but observe to you, the very un
 viour of my lord chancellor upon this occasion. At a mee
 fore the parliament met, where I communicated his majesty
 ship was much upon the reserve as to the answer in g
 particular parts of it then discours'd of (for exceptions were
 part of it) he still fended off, and declin'd giving a ca
 wards sent for him to my closet, and there alone with him se
 industry which I knew were on foot to make ill impressio
 each house, and the attempts design'd by parliamentary a
 king's answer appear less gracious, that as we two were
 servants here, I had warmly declar'd what I took to be my
 same was incumbent upon him. In fine, I insist'd upon h
 what part he defin'd to take in this affair. Not to trouble
 reasonings, who you know is not the least verbose in the
 that he was of opinion, that the answer was not satisfactory,

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

his vote, with much unwillingness, after being press'd two or three length, with an ill grace, voted content, saying that he did not with such a majority, or, to that effect. From many instances past, it is manifest, this principle has govern'd his politicks. Himself amongst the majority, and then assumes to himself the leadership of that party. This finesse was very remarkable the last dispute about the Irish bank; at first, he warmly promoted it, but cover'd a flame rais'd against it, by the influence of the bank means, he turned short, and took the other side, his kindred in commons had all voted for it, and his son vehement in the first side of the question in the beginning of the session; but before were past, the very contrary arguments were as violently suppo-

All resentment or prejudice apart, I may venture to affirm the truth of which I may appeal to the general voice of the country. When the patent for the new coinage came upon the tapis, the chancellor was more personal friends than any one man in the nation. Many are attached thro' interest, whilst he is vested with power; some who hated him when he was sent back from England as one of the late jetties. The mark of the king's favour, believe me, has no ways conduced to his service, but has artfully been made use of to persuade the world, that his lordship has very good support at court. On several occasions, it has appear'd, that no regard has been had to those who were of the water, to whom he really owed the obligation. Notwithstanding the protestations made at that time by the chancellor, of a grateful sense, I was very apprehensive that the king's business here would derive no benefitt from his being restor'd to power, but that he would overstep my administration, knowing long that his character is to be insolent in power, when stript of it, the most abject submissive. The event has apparently justified that opinion. His lordship and family have sometime been shakeing hands with the tories here.

Period III. relating to a new convert justice, gave him great apprehensions
 1720 to 1727. quiry of that kind shou'd be sett on foot, which occasioned

1723. vifit from a member of distinction, in which he gave such excuses, as wou'd very ill become a minister, who reproach himself with upon that head.

After having thus particularly and justly exposed to your view of this lord, I submit it to you, whether the continuance of him can consist with the king's interest and service here. If you shou'd determine it otherwise, it is my duty to offer this advice. If the present chancellour is not changed, the rest of the king's chief servants must be a perpetual distraction in his affairs, there being scarce one present in employment, who will freely open himself before him, without flattery and dissimulation, and this they have declared to me. His lordship will either obey or he will either betray or disturb, of which every government has experienced since the king's accession. It is the opinion of the most sensible and best affected in this country to the present establishment, that your lordship shou'd always be sent from England; it has usually been the practice. Lord Sunderland carried the compliment too far by choosening out of the natives all the chief, and most dangerous persons, and the bishops too; which has been attended with very bad consequences to the English interest; for tho' I don't complain of the conduct of any of them by others of the country in high stations, as I have reason to do of the chancellour, yet I am little beholden to some of them for their conduct, too plainly that they use the power which the crown bestows, for private views and interests, and each affects to have a party of his own, as occasion serves, in order to be esteem'd significant, and necessary to the government. If, sir, I am so happy as to have your concurrence in the necessity of a new chancellour, I beseech you to make an early choice of a proper person. It may not possibly much import the king's service, if the change be made some months sooner or later after the year

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

per to put the great seal into the hands of a new chancellor into commission, I submit to your judgment; but be it one way or another, it will avoid much difficulty to determine it before the new lords justices at my return.

I forbear to recommend to you any persons for that trust, but am well able to judge who are most deserving of it, from the account you of the behaviour of the most eminent people; only a few words necessary to let you into the character of the archbishop of York, remembering that I have made mention of him this session; and that he is common a mixture as most people I know. He is very indolent in his notions and expressions, pretty ungovernable, and has some qualities which sometimes make him impracticable in business, and ridiculous extravagance, national. Upon some points (of which the dissolution of the house of lords is a principal one) he loses his temper and his reason. Before the opening of the session, at a public dinner my speech was to be communicated, and consider'd, he used some indecent expressions, objecting to the words, *a happy people*: he said that this nation could not be esteem'd such, for that since the king's death, by the act of the legislature of another kingdom, they were in some degree in slavery, with other unguarded expressions, and wild arguments. In the committee of lords to draw up the address to him, he was debated and divided against the word *happy*, using the same arguments, and believ'd in public not quite in so harsh terms as before. As I am now per to lay this behaviour before you, so in justice to him, I must say that he is very well affected to the king, and hearty in support of the settlement of the crown, and an utter enemy to the present government. He is charitable, hospitable, a despiser of riches, and a good bishop, for which reasons he has generally the love of the country gentlemen, and influence and sway over the clergy and the bishops who are sent over from England: he does not shew much of

Period III. lord Carteret a letter, to be laid before the king, recommending
 1720 to 1727. who shall seem proper to be appointed lords justices. I take
 1723. send you the state of the case with regard to the bill before
 the farther growth of popery, as I have received it from some
 the judges and king's council. The house of commons have
 that bill. It has been mended since it came from them, as
 bills want to be : possibly you may still make it better ; but if
 pass, I fear it wou'd be of very ill consequence, the present
 evaded, that the popish priests daily increase, and keep up
 rebellion amongst the people, as may sometime be very troublesome
 to the government.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOL

*Opposes the first resolution to inquire into the conduct and abilities of the
 chancellor.—Privately supports it when introduced.—Vote
 the house of lords.—Counter motion in his favour passes the
 address to the lord lieutenant.*

SIR,

SINCE I finish'd my very long letter to you some days ago, I have been
 detained, by reason all our boats were on your side till yesterday
 receiv'd four mails together, some very extraordinary occurrences
 me to trespass more upon your patience by another letter, than
 not allowing me to bring it within the compass of a postscript.

By the resolutions transmitted to you with my publick letter, and
 with this, you will find that my lord chancellour has been here
 in both houses. The complaint of a great greivance by his son
 pretty universall at my first arrival here, an entire stop there
 the exchequer-chamber being manifest, his presence being
 statute in giving judgment there, that a great delay of business

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

tion of some lords at a private meeting about a week before where it was resolv'd to move the house, that a day be appointed for an enquiry of this nature. In civility to me, my lord Fitzwilliams told me of the design, and as I apprehended, by the consent and direction of the rest at that meeting, adding, that 'twas hoped I wou'd not interpose to obstruct an affair of so great consequence to the nation; but I had no reason to screen a man who had been so instrumental in this disaffection, insinuating too, that the issue of this enquiry might furnish me with views I might have to do myself justice. My answer was, that I was sensible what disturbance I had receiv'd from that quarter, but I could not be suppos'd to have partiality or tenderness for the king; their behaviour was too notorious not to have reached the king's ears; if his service had suffer'd so much through their caballs, yet, that I should perform my duty and cheif aim to conduct the king's business thro' the most speedy and much dispatch and tranquillity as I was able; and however unwilling I might thinke him to continue in his majesty's service (of which he was so sensible when this lord's actions shou'd be laid before him) whilst he was so much not content to an attack of this kind, and therefore intreated my lord Fitzwilliams to lay aside this design for my sake, and to prevail with the lords of Dublin, and other lords to gratify me so far. They complied with my request, and I was in hopes that they would not have reviv'd the enquiry; but about ten days agoe, they enter'd into a fresh engagement, and a new enquiry; since the money bill was gone through both houses, and the king's bill passed, and all the material business relating to the king's affairs accordingly they made their motion, notwithstanding all the arguments I urg'd to dissuade them from it. I did not cease my endeavour to prevent it, for that very morning, I sent my lord Shannon, the lord of Drogheda, and my cheif secretary to the house, to pray them to desist, but they were not to be mov'd. I had many reasons, abstracted from the king's affairs, which

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} given some little strength to his interest, which I hope he was
 1723. fible too, that lord Fitzwilliams, who was at the head of this c
 at some unbecoming treatment he had received from the crea
 in the other house, whilst the popery bill was depending, an
 are great, his popularity is not so, and his appearing foremo
 crease the chancellour's enemys; it proved so in the sequel
 Matters being come to this pass, entirely against my consent
 solemnly averr to you, so I will ingenuously confess to you,
 particular lords of my friends came to me, and shew'd a dispos
 ably to my sentiments, I told them that I had no reason to wis
 any new triumphs, nor wou'd I desire them to spare him a m
 vided all due regard was had to the king's commands to him a
 that nothing was push'd which might wound his prerogative,
 vice. This proceeding took up all Saturday till eight, and M
 o'clock at night. Upon the reports, proxys were not used,
 solutions had pass'd by a far greater majority. The numbe
 devisions were about 21 to 10. The inclos'd paper, contain
 first materiall devision; and I can't but observe to you, wha
 from his new allys, those mark'd with the cross being staunch
 our Mr. Shippen has at heart.

The transaction mentioned in the house of lords, gave r
 made in that of the commons on Munday, which ended in the
 you receiv'd by this mail, without a devision. A strict call o
 over six days before, a number of members gone out of town
 in it by those who had in view to attempt something counter
 resolv'd in the affair to come under consideration elsewhere,
 before them being dispatch'd, and the recess being expected e
 Munday, made it seem to be the most favourable opportunity t
 of this kind for my lord chancellour, who in the eyes of

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

matters as might lead them to this question, that such a method most to that lord's honour, and to the honour of their own province they hoped, therefore, that this question wou'd be for the present otherwise that the previous question might be putt, the promoters pliment beleiving, they cou'd never have such an advantage against their motion, and omitted no insinuations nor popular arguments upon those who of late they have found weak enough to receive such insinuations. They went back to the behaviour of this lord, whilst he was many years a member of that house, and part of that time had been very appealing to the journals for the sense of the commons with regard to his behaviour in the worst of times, and reminding them of his steady support of the protestant succession, and dangers he had expos'd himself to for the sake of it. That whenever he had been call'd by his majesty to answer questions, the interest of Ireland was always at his heart, enumerating several instances. But what was always thrown in to warm their affections, was his endeavours to prevent the passing of the copper patent, hinting at the merits upon this head, which were coin'd for this purpose, insinuating that there had not been the same endeavours from others, or else such success would have had some effect: these insinuations, I know how much they have not been new. Upon this last occasion, I have lately learned that he has obtain'd amongst several of the West Saxons of this country that the lord chancellor refus'd to put the great seal to this patent, if to the advantage of Ireland, according to the first intention, for that he had been so before upon when in England.

Folly did not only discover itself in the course of this debate, but folly too had its part, some making great encomiums upon his lordship, and others to talk very indifferently of him, and who particularly had excused him for his behaviour and absence as chancellor. Some proposed to have the previous question put, being more sanguine than others who advised dropping it rather than have any division at all:

Period III. live in a sort of a fever. Before I conclude this article, I w
 1720 to 1727. such indecent language was us'd towards the lords, that mig
 1723. sequence, if the recess had not come on, and the king's br
 over. Indeed those inflamers met with some cheque, as
 rough one, who insinuated as if the enquiry in another hou
 was set on foot by a greater person, and a paralel was dr
 and an enquiry which had been set a foot against lord char
 lord Capel; there being, as 'twas said, a contest between
 court. Mr. Hopkins interrupting this harangue, by spea
 house was so gracious to me, as to shew a great dislike to the
 and one gentleman of that side the question, was heard afterw
 had good grounds to be perswaded, that the enquiry began
 was not with the approbation of my lord lieutenant. My
 house of lords, and his two sons (Talkers) in the other house
 who seem to have no other reason for takeing my lord cha
 protection, but out of hatred to lord Fitzwilliam; the tw
 markably, in former occasions, made war upon the Brode
 them this session brought in a bill, in the preamble of which
 lour was struck at in so indirect and unfair a manner, that
 sarys thought it most becomeing to drop the bill: this may gi
 of our patriots.

On Fryday last, in the house of commons, the question w
 I herewith inclose) to give me thanks. By the timeing of it, a
 of it, you will guess it was not design'd to doe me real ho
 you, that it was mov'd by one of my greatest opposers, w
 that all my freinds desir'd that compliment might be defer'
 proper season, wou'd not consent to wave it, without the
 So far the civil banter was carried, and Mr. Broderick spok
 previous question, but when he found the treatment the hou
 their sense appear'd. that it ought not to be in the votes

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

of power, and the mighty danger of what they are frighten'd find him no favorite. It is not long since he was the reverse of knowledge.

The uncertainty where my letters may now find my lord Townshend, I question not but that you will communicate the contents of my present dispatches, when you meet him.

LORD CARTERET TO THE DUKE OF GRAVESEND.

The king dissatisfied at lord Middleton's conduct.

MY LORD,

Whitehall,

HIS majesty has commanded me to acquaint your grace, for private information, that he is very much dissatisfy'd with the conduct of lord chancellor of Ireland, to whose public conduct, as well as to your grace imputes the unquietness of the session; his majesty's resentment in a proper manner, by resuming the seals; but his majesty desires your grace not to mention this matter to any body whatsoever.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Deems it imprudent to force the Irish to take the coin.—Thinks it necessary to remove the lords justices in due time.—Proposes that the king should immediately proceed to Ireland.

MY LORD,

Houghton,

I Had late last night the honour of your grace's dispatch, containing letters and papers from Ireland inclosed, and confess I am surprized at the contents of them. It is not new to see small intrigues elevated and carried to a very great height, but these things seldom succeed by chance, and when there is in reality little or no reason to suppose that secret management and industry can kindle a general flame.

Period III. remedy. The popular frenzy and averſion to the taking
 1720 to 1727. afraid, is now carried to ſuch a degree, that it will ſcarce
 1724. tempt the forcing their inclinations, eſpecially where they
 countenanced in their obſtinacy by their governors, and t
 thority under his majeſty. For how is it poſſible that t
 ſhould be known, much leſs that it ſhould be obeyed by t
 lords juſtices reſuſe to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure to th
 council breaks up without coming to any reſolution, whe
 are under their conſideration. This makes it impracticabl
 the minds of the people; and to repeat the orders of th
 juſtices, when they have already told you in effect, that
 them, is but a ſecond time to expoſe the king's honour, wi
 ſucceſs.

At the ſame time, I cannot but be of opinion, to ſuffer
 continue in authority under ſuch a behaviour, is at once
 power and authority of the crown of England from th
 And as I am not able to ſay immediately what other perſo
 proper to ſupply their places, to remove them avowedly a
 behaviour, would poſſibly make them ſo popular all over
 with the intereſt and influence they have already, they migh
 the king's government abſolutely impracticable, and I thin
 expedient is, to ſend over immediately the lord lieutenant,
 formerly been generally thought neceſſary, but in times o
 order, ought never to be diſpenſed with; and this particul
 than ordinarily to require the preſence of the lord lieute
 plain no Iriſh man will venture to ſtem this torrent, nor e
 endeavour to bring the people to a little temper and mo
 might hear reaſon, the chief governor of Ireland, who m
 have the honour and intereſt of his majeſty, and this king
 at heart, and not being a native of Ireland, will be free

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

of equipage, &c. would not be admitted. How far this meets expectation, I dare not take upon me to answer, for it depends on the conduct and disposition of the lord lieutenant; but I think much can be done at present.

I shall have been a week here to-morrow, and have been busied up in looking into my son's affairs, which a five years minority would have put in disorder then was to be expected from such a circumstance. This week, I shall be able to go through the greatest part of my business in place at the beginning of next week, and I hope his majesty's goodness to excuse this necessary absence from my duty.

MR. I. PORTER, MAYOR OF DUBLIN, TO THE LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL
OF IRELAND.

Has prosecuted the publisher of a seditious pamphlet.

(October 17, 1724.) YOUR excellencies having also desired me what was done in suppressing seditious pamphlets, I must inform your excellencies, that upon the 24th of September last, the published pamphlet, intitled "*The Present State of Ireland considered, Rev. Dean Swift, by a true patriot,*" were apprehended and are to appear at the king's bench term, and a warrant issued against the author, who cannot be yet taken, and the printers of some of them have been also apprehended, and bound over to appear at the king's next present lord mayor, for some scandalous and seditious paragraphs, the suppressing of all such seditious papers and pamphlets, punishing and punishing the authors, printers, and publishers, was committed to the grand jury, by the recorder at the quarter sessions, in your excellencies directions.

LORD CARTERET TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

Period III. acquainted me, that the person who wrote the pamphlet menti-
 1720 to 1727. of council and proclamation, which I transmitted to your g
 1724. of the twenty-eighth, had some thoughts of owning, and even
 to be the author of it: the archbishop added, that he believ
 conjuncture, the author might safely put himself upon his c
 his trial, since it was generally understood, that his crime wa
 the halfpence. I told his grace, if he would know my opinion
 no man in the kingdom, how great and considerable foeve
 himself, was of weight enough to stand a matter of this na
 author desired to have the glory of taking it upon himself,
 to apply to the chief justice of the king's bench. I told him
 libel contained such seditious, and in my opinion, treasonabl
 upon a chief governor here to exert his utmost power in b
 of it to justice.

The event of this is uncertain, but I must acquaint yo
 you will lay it before the king, that if the boldness of this au
 great as the archbishop intimates, I am fully determined to su
 the council; and tho' I should not be supported by them as I
 shall think it my duty to order his being taken into custody,
 if I can by law, till his majesty's pleasure, shall be further signi
 his offer of bail should be immediately accepted, and he forth
 after so daring an insult upon his majesty's government, i
 hended that riots and tumults will insue, and that ill disposed
 after this author, and represent him to be the defender of th
 the people are falsely made to believe is attacked in this a
 pence. I consulted my lord chief baron Hale, who thin
 should happen, so extraordinary as to become a matter of sta
 utmost rigour. My lord justice Whitshed, who is likewise
 this affair, says, that the present ferment in which the peop

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

under the deliberation of several considerable persons in this country, he or I could give entire credit to it, till I received the approbation of the archbishop.

'Tis the general opinion here, that doctor Swift is the author of the pamphlet, and yet no body thinks it can be proved upon him; he will be spirited up to own it. Your grace may see by the correspondence of the archbishop of Dublin and Swift have of the humour of the age, and the affections they have exceedingly gained of late, by inveighing against the clergy. I here send your grace a large edition of the declaration in the news-papers, transmitted to you in my last letter, which as I am told, to be put into frames, hung up in every house in the kingdom, have marked, are the privy council. I must entreat your grace to know his majesty's sense upon this, and my former letter, as soon as conveniently can.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Desires that three pensions of 1,000*l.* for eight years, may be granted to Mr. Wood, for surrendering the patent, instead of one of 3,000*l.* per annum.*

(London, October 12—21, 1725.) HIS majesty, before he signed a warrant for granting a pension of 3,000*l.* per annum to Thomas Uvedale, esq. which was to him for the surrender of his patent. That warrant is still in force, and is not to be given out till all difficulties in the parliament of Great Britain are removed. Mr. Wood has now been with me, to desire that the pension of 3,000*l.* per annum to Mr. Uvedale, may be turned into three pensions of 1,000*l.* per annum, for the same number of years, which he desires, for the convenience of disposing of it to the best advantage, finding it almost impracticable to part with the whole in one sum, which into three parts, may be easily had. I therefore send your lordship

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Success of opposition in the Irish house of commons, owing to the Brodricks.

(London, Nov. 29—Dec. 10, 1725.) YOUR lordship will have of the miscarriage of the king's business in the parliament of Ireland most plain that the Brodericks deceived my lord lieutenant, after the positive promises of supporting him in all his questions. The ill consequences that will follow from this disappointment, may very much affect his majesty's affairs, if there should be any trouble in Ireland, by the army being disbanded. Of this the opposers of the king's measures seem sensible, and as I am informed, think of applying a remedy, before they rise, as bad as the present which is by addressing the king to stop all payments upon the civil list, and pensions, until the army is paid up and clear'd, a dangerous precedent, if attempted. But 'tis to be hoped this design may be laid aside, as some very mad ones have been, which in their heat they had resolved, and cooler thoughts were dropt, which is very certain; in the present conjuncture whatever is moved for against the government, will be carried.

2. *Correspondence between lord chancellor Midleton, Thomas Brodrick, and Saint John Brodrick.*

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO ALAN* BRODRICK.

Account of the opposition to Wood's patent.—Of the addresses which pass in the houses.—Absurd method of carrying Wood's patent into execution.—Indiscretion in mislaying the patent.—Indiscretion of Wood.—False and exaggerated reports.

DEAR NAMESAKE,

Dublin, Sept. 30, 1725.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

and to the advantage of Wood, and those concerned with that would accrue by the coynage of soe great a sume of b both houses have applyed to his majesty for protection, a prevent soe great an evil from falling upon us: but I cannot the lords have done it in a more handsome and agreeable other house. They say for themselves, that at the time the the commons had actually delivered their addresse, and that was not at that time so much in fear as the commons were dresse was still under consideration) least the project might that the lords believed all would doe well, when the commons much zeal exprest their detestation of Wood's scheme, wh a fair handle for being very temperate in their application that the necessity of the thing (which both houses were equal torted from them the applications to his majesty, being very proach his majesty with any thing in nature of a complaint. all the letters and papers relating to this affair on Wednesday and adjourned the consideration of them, and the debate day.

You shall soon have copies of some pretty extraordinary l proved before us, and read, in which some persons are named us here, they know nothing of the matter. But Wood m fellow to order his correspondents to apply to men for adv in forwarding the project, who are perfectly strangers to the t in my postscript, under the copy of our addresse, that two were instrumental in softning matters, by which I meant in addresse: but I think I may, without vanity, say I pressed t necessity of our approaching the king in the most humble an as far as any lord in the house did, and I believe, with as m hope his majesty's goodnesse will incline him to give us

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

I. if Mr. Wood be a man who had deserved well of the crown, some other method could have been found to reward his merit.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK

Desires him to inform Mr. Walpole; that the Irish are determined not to take Wood's coinage.—Bad management of that affair.—Censures the inconsiderate conduct of the lord lieutenant.

(Dublin, November 1, 1723.) * * * * I Doe believe people will be as curious then they have been, for some time past, to know gentlemen's thoughts about the proceedings of our parliament, with respect to the copper money intended for us, and *for our good*. For our sense of that matter, is so far understood, that there needs no industry to be used to know the thoughts of a man in the kingdome, who hath a dram of sense, or a penny of money, or at least love for the countrey. I have seen a paper well written (as far as a judge) upon that subject, which from the manner, I conclude is intended for the presse; but I have not been able to get a copy of it: for which my friend in whose hand I saw it, gave me this reason. He said, that as he never contributed to the raising or increasing the heats which had hapned by the issue of this copper money, soe he resolved not to doe any thing which might continue or revive them, as he apprehended giving a copy might doe, and it would not be in his power after doing soe, to prevent its being made publick, which he never designed, unlesse there should be a necessitye for it. In that case, he would speak his mind in the plainest and most publick manner, which he declined to doe, till there was a necessitye for it, because he would be forced to speak some truths which might disoblige. I gave Mr. Wood a copy of my having seen such a paper, and that I hoped to be able to send him a copy of it soon; and to have enabled you to shewe it to him, which

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

feſſions, which I hoped, and was willing to underſtand, by the addreſſes of both houſes; the firſt being only an addreſſe on the diſcoverie and diſappointment of the deſignes of the enemies; the other againſt our being impoverished by Mr. Wood eating up our ſtate.

But I ſoon found, that the anſwers were only to the addreſſation, and cannot but ſay, that his grace's manner of ſpeaking gives me hopes then I deſired, of our ſoon receiving a gracious anſwer to theſe addreſſes. I ſhewed how much it imported his majeſty's ſervice, the kingdome, his grace's honour, and how much it would ſatisfie the expectation of all the king's ſervants and well wiſhers, that the petition ſhould have a quick and ſpeedy iſſue: and that to attain all thoſe deſirable things he wiſhed, that ſuch anſwer might come ſoon, and remove the doubts which the countrey lies under, of being ruined and impoverished, which we are told is intended for our good. His grace's ſpeech might be ſure he wiſhed we might receive ſuch an anſwer: and another reaſon to think he believed that we were like to receive ſuch an anſwer as is here not only deſired, but (if I thought the expreſſion proper) might add (I think) expected. I doe not know but your petition for his majeſty and this countrey ſervice, if you would wait upon him, that they doe not act with candor or judgment, who thinke it to give hopes that the kingdome is capable of being perſwaded to give money voluntarily. If ſuch people have been found, who ſuch methods might be taken here to reconcile people to it, that they muſt now ſee they miſjudged the thing, and muſt confeſſe they have not the power to do every thing which they undertake.

For we are not without our ſuſpicions, that hopes have been given on this ſide, that there ſhould be ſuch methods taken here, as Mr. Wood's money current: and among Mr. Wood's letters to

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

duke's landing. He declared himself perfectly unconcerned how the
went, and that he had no instructions about it from the king, or the M
but added, that honour was to be done to the king's patent, which ha
before he was made acquainted with the matter's being in agitation.

The exemplification of the patent, which Mr. Wood in one of hi
to his brother Molineux, faith he had sent by Mr. Whichcotte, my lo
vate secretary, was not forth coming, altho' there were forty copies in
hands in the town. But at length the exemplification was (we find) m
by Mr. Woods, as he said, to Mr. Whichcotte, but to one Mr. Brun
gentleman of the duke's, who had mislayd it, and at length found i
14th of September, among some lumber and goods which were broug
But this finding hapned to be unfortunately after my lord lieutenant ha
an answer to the addresse of the house of commons, in which he told
had no papers, &c. relating to it, which could give them any satisfaction
town knew how agreeable the answer was to the majoritie of the
commons; and I have reason to think, my lord lieutenant was told by
that wished him well, that there would be an humble application for
satisfactory and explicate answer; but this was fortunately prevented
Brumstead's finding the exemplification between the deliverye of
lieutenant's answer on Saturday, and the house's meeting on Monday
Mr. Hopkins (as soon as the speaker was seated in the chair) told t
that a gentleman attended at the door with the exemplification. Now
stead of three persons going together into an upper room in Mr. C
house, on Friday the sixteenth day of August (when the lord lieutenant
with the speaker, and I had the honour to be of the company) the
had been made foure, it is very possible that a fourth man might ha
of opinion (supposing he could have been induced to have gave into
per scheme) that the way to have succeeded, would have been to act a
and above board, and either wholly to have dropt the thing, as wholly
licable and inconvenient, or else to have appeared for it heartily

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

by a creature of Mr. C. that after the chancellor was gone the Sp.† and Mr. H.‡ went into an upper room, and were there several hours, and then settled the measures to be taken in the public assembly, one would admire how it should be possible for men who have so much at command, should be so ill generals as to receive so many blows. Our great men have done this campaign. The truth is, in all matters on with temper and prudence and good manners, for the matter depending on numbers in all events, chose to act with hauteur and dignities on gentlemen, who would not bear them, and were how inconsistent such proceedings were with the very being of the Civil treatment and common countenance shewn to your new money. made him less ready to give them the chagrin which they were seeking by his means. In short, if they had considered better, they would have evoked a man whom few of them could hold a debate with, and who made such impressions at a certain place, that it was impracticable to convince himself, and undeceive the other, where he had been misinformed to conclude, and I know not how to do it better then by expressing my opinion, there are several who will think it will be time enough to pass a bill of supply, when they find reason to think the danger of the copper money is over, but I will not pretend to guess how much they may amount to. But of this, I am fully convinced, that the majority of both houses (if we should not have the happiness of a gracious answer to our addresses) will come to resolutions which will with there might be no motive to come to; but what they will presume to guess, least I should be thought a promoter of the measure, some may think, that the least they can do, will be to discontinue the countenance the currency of copper money, by voluntary refusal in payment, under such characters, which few men would w

Period III. *Letters and extracts of letters, from Saint John Brodrick,*
 1720 to 1727. *Middleton.*

1723.

*Several conversations with, and remonstrances to lord Carteret and
 against Wood's patent.—Speaks of the divisions in the cabinet
 between Townshend and Walpole on one side, and Carteret and
 other.—Various proceedings in England relating to Wood's*

*Endorsed by lord Middleton—"About my brother's, and his
 ministry on the subject of our proceedings in both houses*

Middleton
 Papers.

Secretaries.

(London, 11th of January, 1723-4.) MY uncle gave you
 conference he had with the 2 S——,* upon the subject of our
 Ireland, so that I need not trouble you on that head further

† The king that every word he said, was that day laid before —† by
 the other, in the plainest manner, not without reminding him of his
 zealous affection of our family, &c. particularly in the late
 quiet and success of which, he was told, was in a good measure
 had yesterday a conference of near two hours with the person
 sometimes wrote upon this subject, and did, in the best manner
 and explain to him the whole history of our session, particularly
 the patent; at which he seem'd a good deal surpriz'd, and took
 that matter in a very different light from what it had been
 those who had transmitted constant accounts of it over hither
 every one of the resolutions had been said to have been of
 quently your framing; particularly the two which seem to be
 greatest offence, those about the notorious misrepresentation
 kingdom, and addressing the king against granting the power
 any private person whatsoever. When I mention'd the persons
 them, Singleton, the meeting at the Rose the night before

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

sion, &c. from his majesty, fearing, as he said, that he might be commissioner of the revenue, or be put upon us for a pension of 1000 l. annu-um, as a satisfaction for the loss of his patent. You may be sure I got telling him whose creature and confident he was; nor that the 150 per cent. loss was mov'd by the king's solicitor, mentioned in the town. He was very exact about the names of the particular questions mov'd the several questions, which he made me repeat two or three times, and assur'd me, that as my uncle had the day before told him all that I had explain'd and enabled him to say many things, which he would not fail to represent to — immediately.

I had the satisfaction to be told, when I gave him an account of the matter of heat which pass'd in the house (a certain grave person's particularly calling me to order) that whatever the consequences of the proceedings were, he thought, the person who was the occasion of them, answerable for them. When I began to enter upon the proceedings in the houses about you, he told me, I need not labour that point, I was very well understood, and that no great stress was laid upon it. I gave the substance of what pass'd between us, at least as much as is proper to be put in a letter that is to pass thro' Manley's hands; when I can meet you on any opportunity, I will write more explicitly, and let you know the particulars, which I believe wont displease you. In general, I think the proceedings will in no sort answer the end propos'd; but our proceedings will take a very different turn from what those who set them a foot on.

I go very little abroad, so can't send you much news. Our business is very quietly, not a debate upon, or negative to the address, and I don't think, 'twill be a very short and easy one; but of this, I don't give any opinion. The town says, lord Cadogan has stood his ground withstanding a very strong attack made upon him. The scheme is to command the army, Argyle, for the present, to take up with

Period III. the future, I should advise your writing either to my uncle
 1720 to 1727. directly to him.

1723.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—" *Had seen lord Carterett, much dissatisfied at my usage.—Gives good hopes not to*

(London, January 12, 1723-4.) I Wrote to you by lord Midleton, having an opportunity of sending this by a private hand. I shall mention some things now, which in prudence I could not do without repeating any thing I then wrote. You cannot see how your affair has made on this side the water, nor how 'tis the subject of discourses of people. I speak not my own words when I tell you of an incident that could have befallen lord Carteret, Roxborough, but may be assur'd, have and will pursue it to the utmost with great vigour. *has very much sower'd already.* These are the words of one of our friends. I need not tell you, that the breach between lord Walpole, is so great as to be past a possibility of reconciliation together. The former have withstood many home pushes from his friends at Hanover, and as I told you yesterday, have been disappointed by lord Cadogan, even after positive promises made to the king. The mention, of his employments, which has not only a great weight with them, but is lookt upon as a great blow to W——, especially at a time of pressing and denying him this, the beginning of a new year, his friends fancy they have a right to ask and insist upon. He is certainly a very considerable man, and has great influence in the commons; but then, many things which pass there purely by the affection of gentlemen to the king's person and government, are ascribed wholly to his conduct and interest. In showing the king's measures, he has, no doubt, great opportunities of doing so; if thro' pique, or any other pretence, he should again think

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

What the event of this contest between them will be, I cannot say; and am afraid I shall be thought to speak my inclination for my judgment, when I tell you I have very little apprehensions as to the result, certainly prest on both sides with the greatest application and vigour for a fair trial of their credit and interest with the king; so that the event, in all probability, determine the fate of one of the partys. By observation I could make, our friends seem to think they have gained the advantage over the others, and to determine to pursue it to the utmost. C—— went so far t'other day, as to tell me, he did not think doing so by continuing you in your employments, was a sufficient reparation for the loss which he thought was done and meant to the whole family, and he advis'd both my uncle and me to insist upon some particular mark of favour being shewn one of us, and to mention this to Mr. W—— in the strongest terms. I have great reason to know he, Mr. W——, is very uneasy about his friends behaviour in Ireland, which has brought upon him the greatest difficultys he ever was involv'd in since his last going into ministry. For this reason, great pains are taken to shift the blame from the great man in Ireland, who pretends to disavow even the knowledge of it, the whole blame is laid upon that most inconsiderable tool of his. When I was told this by a very great lord and friend of theirs, I was liberty to say, I could hardly beleive he was in earnest; but that I was not very well acquainted with the complexion of our house, I could not imagine they dar'd have taken such a step without orders from the king, or that 11 bishops, and 9 temporal pensioners could have been so easily made a little inconsiderable papist in masquerade, whose person ever was hated and despis'd. I have nothing more to add, not having seen any more since I began my letter; only, that this day in the house, Mr. W—— pointed me to be with him on Wednesday morning; I shall say no more but out advice, and will give you the earliest account of what shall befall.

Period III. being put in when you went over last, was owing to the p
 1720 to 1727. great man with his freind, and by no means to those to wh
 1723. yourself under some obligations upon that account. If
 now, you may be sure we shall be told the same story, and
 Till this great point is settled, I dont think it adviseable to
 tion any thing else; but when that is over, I think we o
 English, and insist, that as you are equal in commission,
 in power and credit with that little fellow, who, I may ventu
 pretty well understood here. If this had been done for
 should not have been under some difficulties that we
 What gives rise to this advice at this time, is an expresse
 mentioned, to me yesterday, that the king and every body
 where the influence and interest of Ireland lay, and therefore
 that those ought and would be employed, who were most cap
 That if people could have been contented with doing the
 he was sensible it might have been done in the most unanim
 ner; but if his majesty's name and authority were to be
 * Duke of tify the private pique and resentment of —,* he thought
 Grafton. able for the consequences, who had been prevailed on to
 measures. These are, as near as I can recollect, his ow
 very little public news stirring: every thing goes on very c
 and there is great probability of a short and easy session. T
 outward appearance, upon a very freindly foot. Towar
 session, we shall know how far they are sincere. The c
 Bolton are now said to be the competitors for our govern
 freinds, and they say, both promised; I am glad, however,
 have a successor; I doubt we shall never have his fellow.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—" *That lord lieutenant's sto
 hopes he may stil attain his end, and prevent my being*

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

course, receiving another year's salary. That matter is now
and gives some people more uneasiness than you can imagine.
formerly lay between his grace of B——n* and Do——t;† but
competitor has appear'd, who declares he *must* not be denied.
you may perhaps have heard, that when a certain person ‡ per-
rals's staff for one of a less size, he obtain'd it upon promise
to expect the former, or any way to intermeddle with the affair
now explain'd, *and very reasonably*, to extend only to English
government of Ireland could never be construed to be contrary
the promise, being entirely a civil employment, tho' by accident
of the army is appendant to it. Without entering into the merits
of reasoning, 'tis certain he has ask'd it, and in a pretty position.
those who best know him, think he will not be very easy, if on
other hand, to have an employment of so much consequence
out of the hands of a favourite, by such means, seems a little
omnipotence, upon the notion of which, a good deal of our
founded. By this time, I believe some people begin to re-
Simon§ into such a degree of confidence, indeed, into the ac-
cause, if I am not misinform'd, he has struck into this new
people could have been prevail'd on to have shewn a little gen-
nest Harry Madrigal,|| we should have had a very pretty triumph.
unexpected incident, together with what lately pass'd in the house,
an account of which you will see in lord M——'s letter, has
affair, for the present, at least. Lord C——t and his friends seem
unconcerned in this scrape, knowing it cannot hurt them, let
it will; tho' if it succeed, *we* must alter our disposition; and
measures, of which I should be glad to have your thoughts.
I first came over, and observ'd the situation of our great in-
terests, I was of opinion, the sudden calm and seeming unanim-

Period III. again repeat my opinion, that however valiant and sanguine friends
 1720 to 1727. freinds may appear, they will not even venture to propose the
 1723. of the government, at least not in their publick letters.

But to return; Mr. W—— proceeded, by telling me he had apprehend any ill offices *from one part of the ministry*; but in my opinion might be of them, perhaps the others were as sincere as they who made larger professions. I took the liberty here by saying, I was sorry to hear such an expression, which I meant of the dissentions among the great men, and said, the king, and that he did not disown being upon ill terms with lord I went on, and explain'd myself, that my concern arose from having had entred into measures, or chose to make my court to one ministry, rather than another; that if justice were done you would as willingly own the obligation to him as to any body on my own part, I would always endeavour to behave myself as to merit the freindship of all the king's ministers, and should be happy, if I could obtain his. This gave him an opportunity to say many things of me, that neither he nor I thought I deserved; that he had never received more satisfaction, then in my last confession; that I had explain'd the history of our session so clearly, and with an air of sincerity, that what I said, had made a great impression on him; he had laid every thing that past then, before the king, in the most candid manner, and that he had the satisfaction to tell me, that my behaviour in parliament here, was entirely agreeable to the king; that he had acquainted him with it, and that it was the greatest confirmation of every thing I had said relating to the affairs of Ireland. He was natural to imagine, people in his situation were glad of the good men of character and understanding, and that, without complaining, our family were posselt of both, and therefore should always do

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

would not think him so, for not having explain'd himself further
ject of our conversation, which he was sure I would not take
consider'd either his public or private scituation.

We parted upon the civillest terms, and I must tell you, he t
infinitely more freedom and freindship then when I came fir
have been the more particular in this account, not knowing
and lying of some people may give you some uneasiness. You
own judgment upon what I write, and tho' I am too well acqu
professions of great men to build much upon them, yet I am f
fyed, that they know 'tis their interest to do you justice, that
least doubt of their doing so, and often think, that we give too m
weight to the interest of our enemys, by laying so much stre
which I know they cant carry, and notwithstanding all their bo
beleive, dare not even propose. I this moment received a me
Townshend, to be with him to-morrow morning, and will let y
passes in my next. In the mean time, let me entreat you, by
to let —— and his freinds see, you know you are out of their p
my lord, their interest and credit here is at a low ebb; and I
sorry to think you had no better tenure in the great seal, then f
his power. I forgot to tell you, that as an instance of Mr. W
I was employed by him yesterday, to move for the discharging
of elections, from hearing any more petitions this session. The
the D. of Ar—e's uncles and cousin germans; from which
your own conjectures, for I assure you, the thing will bear it.

(London, March 24, 1723-4.) THERE is no letter in
from his grace, tho' I hear to day, he intends to come away
of May; if so, he must certainly write soon, that there may
king's letter to go thro' the common forms of the offices.
wish, for many reasons, this affair were settled before the risi
ment, that that I should see an attempt will be made, to inflame

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

the parliament is up. I hope there is no foundation for this report. I can't but think W—— must prevail, and for that reason endeavour to be as well with him as I can. 'Tis certain his interest in our house is prodigious, and while that continues 'twill be pretty hard to withstand him. I wrote a letter in lady Midleton's debt, and would have answer'd it to night, if I wrote to you. Pray give her Nancy's and my humble duty. I hope to be in Ireland before the first of next term. The house will certainly sit a few days after Easter, and I hope before that time, the main affair will be settled to our satisfaction; if not, I am resolv'd not to stir till 'tis determined. In the mean time, I beg you will be under no uneasiness about it, for 'tis impossible it should miscarry. Adieu.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—" *Had seen lord Carteret and Mr. Churchill and made my complements. Gives an account of what the court design on Wood's complaint.*

(London, April 18, 1724.) YESTERDAY I received your lordship's favour of the 9th, by which I find you had heard the agreeable news of lord Carteret's being appointed our governour, and of your being nam'd one of the justices, in despite of all the attempts and malice of your enemys. You be sure I did not omit paying all the respect and compliments imaginable on this occasion, to a person who has been so remarkably freindly to you, and by whose means, laid our family under such obligations, as ought never to be forgotten. I shall see Mr. Clutterbucke to day, and will then obey your commands to him. I had, upon the general good character of the man, made my acquaintance with him before I imagin'd I should see him in the employment he now is, and you must beleive I shall now do every thing in my power to cultivate his freindship, and hope before I leave this place, to put it upon a foot, as that no little malicious lyes or insinuations will be able to prevent. I have had a good deal of discourse both with my lord and his

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

both because I knew the power of their great patron was vast as I was of opinion, that the prospect of laying my lord under debt, might be an additional motive to the others insisting on the establishment of the patent, and I now find I was right in my conjectures. I gave you a copy of the order then made, which, if it come time enough, will reach you by this post. All that is said to be design'd at present, is only to give an order to the commissioners of the revenue, to revoke one lately made, forbidding their officers to receive or pay any of that cursed patentee's money. I never, till lately, heard our commissioners had virtue enough to make an honest order, nor can I yet bring myself to believe it, though I am assur'd of the truth of it from very great hands; but if they do, some of those honest gentlemen will find themselves in a good deal of trouble how to act upon this occasion. If they revoke the order, I doubt when the house of commons meets, they will expect a very good reason from the members for acting in direct opposition to their unanimous and unanimous orders, and will hardly think any orders from their masters here, can be of any obligations to them. On the other hand, should they persevere, they have done, you know they have to do with people, who are prone to a sort of contradiction, and will hardly bear to have their orders disobey'd by whom they look upon as their servants.

'Tis now pretty plain, with what view so many resolutions were made in that certain place, against the abuses of the powers of the patent, and how ever it should prevail, the country will be made sensible to the necessity of that blessing. I have reason to know, that the plan of all those resolutions was sent from hence, with design to make the use that is now made of them, *viz.* The parliament complains only of the misexecution of the patent, but there has been none such; therefore no cause of complaint.

Period III. the foot upon which the abuses complain'd of are put; as to
 1720 to 1727. made to the quantity, they are allow'd to have some little we
 1724. answer'd by the patentees condescending to lessen it, perha
 surely all uneasiness will be remov'd. I don't trouble you
 made to these *weighty* objections; but upon the whole, I bel
 order I mention'd above, and agreeing to lessen the quantity,
 sent designed; and in all other respects, the patent is to stand
 tom; without the assistance of a proclamation, or order fo
 both which are positively disavow'd, and I hope will never be

(London, April 14, 1724.) I Designed to have wrote
 lord Carteret's being out of town prevented me. He retu
 morning, and I had a good deal of discourse with him about
 land, the particulars of which, it is not proper to send in a
 through Manley's hands, and indeed I am enjoin'd not to
 them till I can find a more secure conveyance. In genera
 fur'd, he is inclin'd to do every thing in his power that can
 the service of the countrey, or is agreeable to the inclinations
 freinds, towards whom he expresses himself with uncom
 esteem. The thing which is likely to create him the great
 that pernicious scheme of the halfpence, which I now app
 ever. You must no doubt have seen the account that w
 Mr. Wood in the publick news-papers, of a hearing before
 council, at his instance, and the order that issued thereupon
 assay of some of his coinage. I endeavour'd to inform m
 could, of what pass'd there, but could learn little more than
 in the papers, nor do I believe there was any debate on that f
 When the report of the assay is made, we shall know what is
 us; in the mean time, it seems pretty plain to me, that this a

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

but dare not, for the reasons I have given, enlarge upon it. lord C—— again to-morrow by appointment, and as soon as a safe hand, you shall know every thing that passes. 'Tis some people, that he will not go into Ireland, but have t there, that he had in his former employment. This possibly people's thoughts, but if ——* has assur'd him, as 'tis said, he beleive 'twill be pretty difficult to perswade him to alter his certain he is as well there as ever he was in his life, and the rations were declared, —— talkt to him near half an hour in t and hardly spok to any other person; so that his freinds are to think he will, even yet, be able to make his party good.

We are told the parliament will be up in a few days, but judge by their manner of proceeding, they will not rise so soon. Be that as it will, unless something extraordinary happen, I get away so as to overtake the very beginning of next term, tir'd of this town, and long, more then I can express, to freinds in Ireland. I hope in a day or two, to hear how t creatures receiv'd the news of your being put into the govern tainly must have been a good deal mortified, especially con their expectations were rais'd; but they have been so much politicks of late, that disappointments of this nature, fit easie they did formerly.

Endorsed by lord Middleton—" *About the alteration of the duke of Grafton, to appoint justices, &c.*"

(London, April 21, 1724.) I Wrote you a long letter was then in hopes I should not have had occasion to trouble unless it were to give you an account of my having left the intended to have done to-morrow, and had settled all my affairs but was oblig'd to alter my resolution by an account I receiv'd

Period III. This letter, I hear, was communicated to his successor, w
 1720 to 1727. make this matter easy, by consenting his grace should have
 1724. passing the commission for lords justices in his absence (which
 a thousand times said, he would never do, if you were to be
 soon as he was landed, lord Carterett's should be put under
 a new one for appointing the same lords justices during his
 pass the great seal of Ireland. This is the foot upon which
 put, and you may depend upon it, there is no other view in in-
 tention, and that repeated orders are sent to hasten his grace over-
 will have left Ireland before this reaches you. Besides the letter
 wrote in answer to the publick one wrote him by lord C—
 is another sent to a certain minister, whom I must not name
 desiring him to assure our friend of his best services, and of his
 him easy in every respect; that he is perfectly easy in the country
 and is very desirous of living well *with every one of them*.
 that servile abject creature's tone alter'd! He would have talk'd
 if his friend's scheme could have been brought to bear; but I
 to continue his power by the same base unworthy methods
 the most servile mean compliance with every thing that he
 either to hurt or serve him.

I dare say, you must be impatient to know how matters
 further alterations are likely to be made since the late ge-
 body expected the command of the army would have been
 * Cadogan. hands immediately; but hitherto the person* who has it has
 beyond expectation; and the town says, has a friend who
 clar'd he will not part with him; if this be fact, such a reputa-
 overballance for the late victory. Tho' for my own part, I know
 temper of a certain person so well, as to be firmly of opinion
 carry this and every other point he insists upon; and will
 employment but his own relations and dependants. The

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

pleas'd, and have hopes of being taken in. 'Tis certain the very narrow, considering the prodigious superstructure; but 'twill be as dangerous to endeavour to enlarge it by those means as it is possible it should stand long upon the present foot. The publick mind that Kensington is fitted up, for the next summer; but as the place will be suppos'd to be so good by reason of its neighbourhood to the city, 'tis possible a more remote and agreeable place may be chosen.

I told you in my last, what I now find is resolv'd, that the order sent to the custom house to revoke one lately issued from the king, directing the several collectors to receive or utter any of the wares which, however agreeable to the sense of both houses of parliament, have been very irregular, as not being warranted by any direct authority, and pretending to controul or abridge the king's patent under the Great Seal. You may be sure I endeavour'd, as far as I could, to prevent the issuing and remonstrating against it to the persons chiefly concerned in it; but received no other answer, than that the king's business was concern'd, and that his ministers could not sit by and see his orders executed upon them, without order or authority, to controul his patent. The king was not concern'd in the present question, since it was not in his power to give the least sanction to the patent, but only to leave it upon the king's word as was before the issuing that order. Besides many other objections, which this might have some weight, that insisting on this order, might make it very difficult to meet this parliament again, for that it was not probable that both houses could sit tamely by and see an order made in violation of their resolutions, revok'd by persons whom they look upon as not having power, and some of them members of one of the houses, and not accountable to them for a breach or contempt of their orders. Orders of this nature had very little weight, and to tell you the truth, I was inclin'd rather for then against doing what was intended.

Period III. with so much opposition in Ireland, which I beleive will ha
 1720 to 1727. here; tho' at the same time, I must tell you my opinion, th
 1724. *behalf of Ireland*, had appear'd at a certain place, which I kn
 expected and desir'd by Wood and his accomplices, it would o
 some people with a plausible excuse for doing what they were
 termin'd to do; whereas now all the world thinks and says
 only ex parte. This I find is not understood by some of o
 land, by one of whom, I and all of that countrey in London
supine negligence, in not endeavouring to oppose the proced
 council, of which I do not think one of us had the least notice
 Daily Courant; tho' if we had, I fancy we should have acted
 manner. You may be sure lord C—— has been fully talkt
 and as he is perfectly free from all suspicion of being concern
 well to this base project; you may depend upon his doing w
 Perhaps a time may come when a good use may be made of w
 you will understand my meaning without further explanati
 not tax me with neglecting the last term, if you knew my on
 ing so, was to see what turn things took. I assure you, whe
 first declared, they who procur'd him that honour, little tho
 over; and I know the D. of B——n was promis'd his pl
 weeks after he was declar'd; but that matter is now settled,
 pend upon it, he is at least, as secure as some of his freinds are

*Further letters between lord chancellor Middleton and Thomas
 Brodrick.*

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR M
*Remonstrates strongly against Wood's halfpence in conversati
 teret and Tickel his secretary.*

(MAY 2, 1724) THIS WILL BE THE LAST OF THE

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

generall, that among those whoe wisht best to his government a man would nott bee found soe hardy as to open his lips in any nott to remaine neuter, unlesse hee would submitt to give his interest, and bee lookt uppon as a betrayer of his country. Your lord must judge for himselfe what part hee was to act, butt as I desired itt might bee remembred, that I was of opinion, notwithstanding vigorous opposition from his excellency was hoped for, and I was expected. That the pretence of limiting Wood to a small summe of noe availe, for that none att all was wanted, besides that it was practicable to discover what greater summe hee should coine, I doubt hee would putt in practice. That unlesse timely precaution itt, I was morally certaine, 'twould produce such effects as I could not be of, that people were nott to bee blinded with Wood's name, whoe well knew the greatest share of the profitt was to goe elsewhere. That such considerations ought nott, and they hoped would nott, be the ruine of the kingdom. That an order to the commissioners to recall or revoke their former directions to the collectors, and to them, would bee interpreted an order to take them, which would nott have the effect proposed, giving them a currency; for that they would take them in payment, except the poor souldiers, whoe would be obliged to live uppon free quarter, rather then starve, for that coine would nott buy halfe enough in the markett to keep them together, that this would necessarily bring complaints from every part of the kingdom before the government, which would bee well improved of here, by a sett of people, whoe by a prophetick spirit would be might happen here. That I thought this would bee the first step, that an utter losse of trade would soone follow, wherein 'twould be England would thinke ittselfe, (as indeed itt will bee) immediately. I mentioned what had happened in your councill uppon long motion, asking him whether any representation was come

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

hee named) as that 'twas carry'd through before his grace could bee to come away. I concluded with taking notice of the essay made in order to lay that before the councill here, for that I heard itt was brought before the great councill, though hitherto itt had been onely before a committee, I desired itt might bee considered whoe brought the halfpence essay'd; every body knows 'twas Wood. Was hee likely to bring the matter, or lighter halfpence: this essay would surely obtaine with him, and therefore I could not butt thinke what was soe obvious to all would nott escape the notice of soe wise an assembly.

Whither what I have sayd and heartily endeavoured will have any effect, I know nott, butt content myself with having to the utmost of my power used his excellency (as well as elfewhere) endeavour'd doing the best service to the kingdom, and if I can foresee any thing, to his majesty: for upwards of a word, I thinke it will be made use of by those whoe doe nott soe much care for with his ease and prosperity as I doe. I ended with giving my opinion that if nothing were done, 'twould dye away silently, butt that if what might be the implication or necessary consequence, should bee attempted for giving him maintenance, a flame would be raised, nott easily to bee extinguished. Far

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK

*Conviction of the ill consequences occasions his opposition to the patent for the lords justices refuse to issue the orders.—The 40,000*l.* in lieu of the 100,000*l.* will not be received.*

(Dublin, August 29, 1724.) I Am just returned from spending some time at Mr. Pole's house in the queen's county very agreeably with a great company who loved and liked one another, and found yours of the 15th of the Bath: for which I thank you. In it you tell me, that it will be to the disadvantage of Ireland, if Wood's halfpence prevail, because there will be no com-

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

the maner it hath been endeavoured to be imposed upon u
conviction of my judgement, that my doing what was exp
would tend to the hurt (if not utter ruine) of the kingdom, co
all the justices* to desire to be excused from issuing the order
them to be issued: as they did on the 20th of this month, in
missive, and yet (in my opinion) a strong letter, the consequence
shall soon see and perhaps feel. But I think all the three a
the matter, and will adhere; but I can't speak with certainty
them.

If you look into the beginning of lord Clarendon's history
very judicious remark of the effect the judgment which w
Hampden's case, about ship money, had on the minds of p
who had not soe much weighed the matter before: and to th
servation, what hath passed lately in relation to this copper
have a like influence here. I doe not find that the report
convert, nor that the reducing 100,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* hath fo
draught, that people are enclined to swallow it, as altered and
I confess, seems to proceed in a great measure from some few
certain paper, and from an opinion people may have, that the
be again thought useful or necessary for us, when we think w
trary, and could be very well content to be excused from having
done us against our wills. Others imagine, that it will be in
vent the importing or uttering above 40,000*l.* which I own se
more difficult than the favourers of the project will allow it to

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO THOMAS I

*Insidious conduct of several who promised to support the pate
for the prosecution of Swift's Letter to the whole people of Ir
the prosecution.—Is strongly against the position, concerning*

Period III.
 1720 to 1727.
 1724.

gree. The matter of Wood's halfpence would have put the difficulties enough, tho' our people here had acted with the gree and temper: for considering what steps have been taken in England and supporting the patent, he must, in my opinion, be a man, who can hope for such an event in this affair, as I believe has been attained (before things had gone the lengths they have gone, and persons and things had been exasperated to that height, which now are) if some people had spoke their minds as freely in the beginning as they have done since. But the game was plaid out by a set of men; they saw the carrying the point was much at the disposal of the lieutenant, and would be very well taken in England; they knew that the whole kingdom was opposite to the receiving the halfpence, frequently trusted, that the majority in both houses of parliament were against them, and prevent their obtaining a currenecy, without opposition to a darling point; and I am apt to think, some persons have since thought it advisable to declare themselves as non-compliance, as those who from the beginning honestly and publicly (in the minds of it) gave hopes, if not assurances, that they would support them. This conduct, I apprehend, brought us in great many difficulties we now lye under, and perhaps may be finally ruinous to the good of the kingdom be concerned one way, I fear honourable to be so far concerned the other, that I confesse, I hardly see how to lead us out of the labyrinth we are in.

But in addition to this misfortune, the behaviour of some persons who thought fit to write against the halfpence, hath given Mr. Wood a great advantage, and may possibly turn to the great damage, of this kingdom, if not prevented by the prudence and temper of the day of my lord lieutenant's landing, there was a pamphlet cried about by the hawkers, one of which was brought to the day; and on Saturday, 24 October. his excellency shewed

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

fit to be taken notice of, in order to punish the author and pre-
cellency then declared, he resolved to lay it before the court
the opinion of the chief justice, chief baron, and attorney
pamphlet's being criminal; which he accordingly took, and
opinion, that it was a seditious and vile libel, and fit to be pr-

On the 27th of October, my lord held a council, and in
strong manner disclosed the tendency of the paper, and exp
sentment of it, as became a man in his station, upon such a
he spoke short, and thought fit to select some few of the ma
passages, and to leave others to be enlarged upon by those w
after him. As I was convinced of the wicked positions conta
and how much the publishing such doctrines might, and cer
to the prejudice of the kingdome, if such things should pas
thought we should act wisely in taking the advice of the co
which directs us to judge ourselves, least we be judged of t
spoke pretty largely as to some points in the pamphlet, *viz.* for
seem'd to treat the king in an undutiful and dishonourabl
which asserted an independency of this kingdome, and one
words, calls the power of the British parliament to bind I
power *sometimes assumed in the memory of man.* Other para
the wisdom of England, one insinuates (in my apprehension,
liament, that they are capable of corruption: Ireland is re
state of slavery, and treated as slaves by England; nay, w
50,000 operators as a necessary number to distribute his fire-
means something which he dar'd not name, and insinuates as
born down with main force. I therefore mov'd that the
should be directed to prosecute, &c. All the lords of the co
abhorrence of the pamphlet, as seditious and of dangerous co
soe did one who would not join in signing the order for a pr
reason (if I understand him right) lest the prosecutor should